Text, Translation, and Tradition

Studies on the Peshitta and its Use in the Syriac Tradition Presented to Konrad D. Jenner on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday

Edited by

W.Th. van Peursen &

R.B. ter Haar Romeny

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND TRADITION

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Studies in the Syriac Versions of the Bible and their Cultural Contexts

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ABBREVIATIONS

For abbreviated titles of series and periodicals, see S.M. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete* (2nd ed.; Berlin–New York, 1992), also published as the *Abkürzungsverzeichnis* of the *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*.

PREFACE

Konrad Jenner (1941) came to Leiden University in 1960 to start his studies in Physics and Chemistry. For reasons beyond his control he was unable to continue his study, and in 1962 he changed his course to the study of Theology, which he finished in 1971. Soon after he had gained his MA, he became a staff member of the Peshitta Institute, which at that time was directed by Professor Piet de Boer. For many years Konrad Jenner and his colleague Maarten van Vliet worked together on the preparation of the Leiden Peshitta edition. Being an expert in the field of Peshitta studies and ancient Syriac manuscripts, Konrad made a crucial contribution to the edition. With a never-diminishing dedication he checked the collations presented to the institute by colleagues from abroad, and revised and corrected the introductions to each biblical book and the critical apparatuses wherever appropriate. Those who were involved in the Peshitta Project will remember the admirable meticulousness, carefulness, and expertise with which he fulfilled these important tasks.

Besides his work for the Peshitta edition, Konrad continued his own scholarly research and in 1993 he defended his PhD dissertation about the famous Peshitta manuscript 8a1, kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. In the same year he became the director of the Peshitta Institute as the successor to Piet Dirksen, who had directed the institute from 1982 to 1993. From 1994 to 2004 Konrad was one of the general editors of the Peshitta Project, appointed by the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT). The other general editor was Arie van der Kooij, professor of Old Testament at Leiden University.

As director of the Peshitta Institute, Konrad became an indefatigable supporter of Peshitta studies. He not only coordinated the preparation of the Peshitta edition, but also initiated new research projects on the Peshitta, like the *Concordance to the Old Testament in Syriac* (the first volume was edited by Konrad and Pier Borbone and appeared in 1997), the New English Annotated Translation of the Syriac Bible (*The Bible of Edessa*), and the CALAP project (see below). During his directorship the Second and Third Peshitta Symposia were organized. He also supported his colleagues, including the editors of the present volume, in their initiatives to set up new research projects.

The present editors have witnessed Konrad's work in the Peshitta Institute only from the nineteen nineties. We are grateful, therefore,

to Piet Dirksen, who worked with Konrad for many years, for his willingness to give in this volume a description of the developments at the Peshitta Institute over the past few decades and Konrad's role in it during the 35 years that he was one of its staff members.

Although the present volume is devoted to Peshitta studies, Konrad's expertise covered much more than that. This was already evident from his specialisations as a student of Theology. His subjects were, in addition to Old Testament: History and Psychology of Religion, Philosophy of Religion, Physical Anthropology, Medical Psychology, and Psychiatry. His broad interest also became clear from his publications and from the courses he gave at the Faculty of Theology. Together with Gerard Wiegers, now Professor of Religious Studies and Islamology at the Radboud University Nijmegen, he organized interdisciplinary courses and edited volumes about: Jerusalem as a holy city; the origin and development of canonical traditions; religious freedom and the identity of Jews, Christians, and Muslims; and religious views on organ transplantation. Moreover, Konrad never denied his background in the natural sciences. This was reflected, for example, in his emphasis on the methodological exigencies for formulating scholarly sound assumptions, hypotheses and theories (not to be confused with each other!), and their relation to the subjects under investigation.

The present volume deals with the Peshitta, its text, translation, and tradition. These three T-words have not just been chosen because of their alliteration, but rather because they reflect issues that played a crucial role in Peshitta studies over the past few decades. They were also the main themes of the research carried out by the Peshitta Institute in the period that our colleague was affiliated to it and were the subsequent themes of the three Peshitta symposia held at Leiden University: *The Peshitta: Its Early Text and History* (1985), *The Peshitta as a Translation* (1993), and *The Peshitta: Its Use in Literature and Liturgy* (2001).

In all these aspects of Peshitta studies, Konrad has been actively involved. As to the text, we have mentioned above his crucial role in the progress of the Leiden Peshitta edition. Konrad emphasized time and again that a sound text-critical and text-historical analysis should be the basis of any further investigation of the Peshitta. He encouraged initiatives to complement traditional text-critical and text-historical methods with innovative computer-assisted approaches to ancient manuscripts and participated in the Dutch stemmatological research group. A deficiency that Konrad observed in many text-critical and text-historical studies, is that 'the text' is often approached as an abstract entity,

without regard for its carriers, the concrete textual witnesses, and their codicological, paleographical, and art-historical characteristics. This concern was reflected, among others, in his PhD dissertation *De Perikopentitels van de geïllustreerde Syrische kanselbijbel van Parijs (MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Syriaque, 341). Een vergelijkend onderzoek naar de oudste Syrische perikopenstelstels. (The titles of the lessons in the illustrated Syriac Bible from Paris, intended for use in public services [MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Syriaque, 341]. A comparative study of the oldest Syriac lectionary systems.)* In this context we should also mention his active participation in the Pericope project, which is concerned with the relatively new discipline of 'delimitation criticism'.

As to the translation, Konrad was very interested in the process of translation, as well as the translators' cultural and religious background. He was a strong advocate of an interdisciplinary approach, which takes into account linguistic aspects, the translators' cultural and religious profile, as well as issues of translation technique and exegesis. In the late nineteen nineties he took the initiative of setting up just such an interdisciplinary research project with the Research Group on Information Technology at the Free University (*Werkgroep Informatica Vrije Universiteit*), called Computer-Assisted Linguistic Analysis of the Peshitta (CALAP).

Perhaps even more than the text and the translation, it was the often-neglected issue of the use of the Peshitta in the Syriac tradition that was Konrad's passion. This concern was reflected, among others, in the theme that was chosen for the third Peshitta Symposium in 2001. In his above-mentioned PhD dissertation Konrad combined his interest in ancient Peshitta manuscripts and his interest in the use of the Bible in Syriac liturgy and the lectionary systems of the ancient Syriac church.

We are indebted to the contributors to the present volume for their enthusiastic and cordial responses to our invitation. We are also most grateful to Dr. Karel Jongeling, who developed a programme facilitating the typesetting of Syriac and Hebrew. In addition, we would like to thank Jolanda Lee, Constantijn Sikkel, and Roelien Smit for their editorial assistance.

It is a privilege to include in the present volume one of the last articles written by the late Rev. David Lane. We are able to include it thanks to the fact that he was one of the first to send in his contribution, four months before his untimely death on 9 January 2005 during a visit to the St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute (SEERI) in Kottayam, Kerala. It is with gratitude and respect that we publish it posthumously in the present volume.

If we tentatively categorize the contributions to the present volume under the catchwords text, translation, and tradition, we can say that the text of the Peshitta is the main focus of the contributions by Arie van der Kooij, Marinus Koster, Donald Walter, and Jan Joosten. In the attempts to reconstruct the earliest attainable Peshitta text, some manuscripts play a crucial role, such as 5b1 (Genesis and Exodus), 5ph1 (Isaiah), and 9a1. Arie van der Kooij discusses some readings of 9a1 in Isaiah that may reflect an early text tradition. He concludes that the value of 9a1 as a witness of the earliest attainable text is limited and that generally accepted criteria, such as the 'MT criterion' or the 'Septuagint criterion' should be handled with care. Marinus Koster discusses the manuscript 10l1, which in Exodus has many parallels with 5b1. However, the situation with the lessons from other biblical books is different. Koster too arrives at a warning to be cautious: one must be very cautious about transferring conclusions about the relationship between manuscripts from one biblical book to another. Donald Walter's contribution presents one of the new computer-assisted approaches to textual criticism and textual history hinted at above, namely Multi-Dimensional Scaling. Walter applies this method to the manuscript evidence of Jeremiah. He argues that the text of 7a1 and closely related manuscripts, unlike 9a1*fam*, provides a consciously edited text.

The comparison of the Peshitta with the MT has also another aspect, namely the possibility that the Peshitta has preserved a more original reading than the Hebrew text. Jan Joosten argues that this is probably the case in Deut 1:44, where the MT has a stylistic anomaly that can best be explained as a result of a facilitating reading.

The way in which the Syriac translators did their work (whether one calls it 'translation technique', 'translation strategy', or something else) is discussed in the contributions by Gill Greenberg and Michaël van der Meer. Gill Greenberg discusses the lexical equivalents in the Peshitta and the Masoretic Text. The translators felt free to vary their choice of lexical equivalents, even for words of fundamental importance such as those relating to sin. Sometimes their choices reflect a particular nuance in the Hebrew, sometimes they suggest rather a deliberate variation. Their view that the text they were translating was an inspired text apparently did not prevent them from taking this freedom. Michaël van der Meer gives a detailed study of Josh 1:7, where the Hebrew text has the singular תורה but the Peshitta the plural ܢܡܘܣ̈ܐ. He shows how minimal translational changes in the Peshitta may shed light on the way in which the Syriac translator understood his source text.

The question of the character of the Peshitta as a translation is also addressed in three contributions that are products of the CALAP

project. This project, which has been mentioned above, involves a computer-assisted approach to the complex interaction of language system, translation technique, and textual transmission. Eep Talstra and Janet Dyk address the question of how computer-assisted methods in biblical studies can go further than merely imitating classical tools like concordances, dictionaries, and synopses, as was typical of the earliest applications of the computer to biblical studies. This question is closely related to the interaction between research methods, analytical instruments, and data structures. Janet Dyk and Percy van Keulen discuss the scope of a construct state in the Hebrew as reflected in the Peshitta. They show how a systematic treatment of the language can provide insight into the relationship between translation strategy, the requirements of the target language, and textual history. Wido van Peursen shows how the grammatical analysis of discourse segmentation and clause hierarchy can contribute to textual interpretation. He argues that in the analysis of the discourse structure of a certain passage, a so-called literary analysis should complement, but never overrule, the data gained from a systematic linguistic analysis.

The role of the Peshitta in the Syriac tradition includes its use in exegetical and liturgical literature. The first issue is addressed by Harry van Rooy and Bas ter Haar Romeny. Harry van Rooy investigates the text of Psalms in the shorter Syriac version of the commentary of Athanasius and its complex relationship to the text in the longer version (of which the shorter version is an abridgement), the Peshitta, and the Syro-Hexapla. Bas ter Haar Romeny discusses the importance of the witness of the Syriac Fathers to the Peshitta text of Isaiah. It appears that among the West Syrians, some textual variation was still acceptable up to the end of the ninth century, and that the biblical manuscript 9a1 was not an isolated case. On the basis of the work of the East Syrian Theodore bar Koni, he suggests that the later Standard Text or *Textus Receptus* was already available at the end of the eighth century.

The use of the Syriac Bible in liturgy receives attention in David Lane's contribution. He investigates the origin and development of the liturgy for the Fast of Nineveh in the Syriac tradition and the way scripture is used in it. The observance of the Fast plays an important role in popular devotion among the Syriac Christians of Kerala. Also Pier Borbone's contribution illustrates the immense scope of the study of the Peshitta and its role in the Syriac tradition, both geographically and with respect to the kind of material that is worthy of investigation. Borbone presents a study of two funeral tiles from the Chifeng and Fangshan regions of China which contain the triumphant cross and a

quotation from Ps 34:6 in Syriac, almost identical with the Peshitta version. He shows, among other things, that there are some striking parallels in early Syriac manuscript decoration.

To give a proper evaluation of the place of the Peshitta in the Syriac tradition, it is necessary to take into account other Syriac versions of the Bible such as the revision made by Jacob of Edessa and the Syro-Hexapla. Takamitsu Muraoka investigates the use of the particle ܐܦ in the Peshitta and the Syro-Hexapla, to see how influence of the Hebrew or Greek source text, translation technique, and the development of the Syriac language interact. He concludes that the use of ܐܦ was not totally foreign to the 'spirit' of Syriac and that the differences between the Peshitta and the Syro-Hexapla should not be ascribed completely to the influence of the Greek source text of the latter. Alison Salvesen investigates three passages from Jacob's version of Genesis and compares them with the Peshitta, the Syro-Hexapla, the Septuagint, and Jacob's other citations from Genesis. She argues that Jacob's version can be considered a bridge between the Peshitta and Septuagint traditions, rather than a text-critical project to establish the 'correct' text. Sebastian Brock discusses an unknown Syriac version of Isa 1:1–2:21 preserved in three seventeenth-century manuscripts (17a1.2.4). This version has its roots in the Peshitta but also contains a large amount of non-Peshitta material. Luk Van Rompay discusses a version of Judith discovered in Kerala in the nineteen eighties. This version appears to be a revision of the Peshitta text with the help of a Greek manuscript. Van Rompay demonstrates that this version provides valuable information about the history of Syriac translation technique, the textual criticism of the Septuagint, and the popularity of the book of Judith in Syriac communities.

Our difficulty in dividing the contributions into the categories text, translation, and tradition can be considered just an indication of how these three subjects are closely related in the broad and most interesting field of Peshitta studies. We are much indebted to our colleague for his scholarly contribution to all these areas of study, as well as his encouragement and support for others to do so. It is a pleasure, therefore, to offer him the present volume as a token of our appreciation.

Leiden, March 2006

Wido van Peursen
Bas ter Haar Romeny

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PESHITTA PSALM 34:6 FROM SYRIA TO CHINA

Pier Giorgio Borbone

Several Syriac MS bear, mostly at their beginning but sometimes also at the end, the image of a cross which takes up a whole page. It might be called a 'triumphant cross': the figure of the crucified Jesus is indeed absent, and the pictures sometimes show a remarkably elaborate decoration both in the cross itself and in the page illustration. The meaning of this aniconic cross is explained by Jules Leroy:

> L'idée de placer des croix sans le crucifié, en tête et parfois en fin des livres, rejoint sans aucun doute celle qui portait les anciens chrétiens de Syrie à marquer leurs demeures du signe divin, avec ou sans inscription explicative, pour les sanctifier et en éloigner l'Ennemi. La valeur apotropaïque . . . se retrouve ici en même temps que son caractère santificateur. En la peignant comme un sceau à la première et à la dernière page, non seulement l'artiste met son livre dans la catégorie des objets sacrés, de même qu'on la grave sur le pain du sacrifice . . . mais en même temps, il lui attribue le rôle qu'on découvre à sa représentation graphique dans les chapelles ou autres endroits saints, où la croix est peinte pour 'chercher à retenir sa puissance protectrice dans les lieux qu'elle décore'. Des inscriptions comme celles-ci : *En toi nous vaincrons nos ennemis*, *La croix victorieuse* ou *En toi est notre espérance*, ne laissent aucun doute sur ce point.[1]

The oldest known MS bearing such an image dates back to 462.[2] As Leroy pointed out, at times a short Syriac *legenda* is written beside or around the cross, making its meaning even more explicit. The quotation from Ps 34:6: ܒܟ ܢܕܟܐ ܠܥܠܒܥܠܟ 'in thee (*i.e.* with the power of the cross) we will break our enemies' often recurs.

These three words are written *vertically* in different ways, depending on the artist's decorative choice. As the image of the cross depicted in the centre of the page divides the space into four quarters, the first two words may be written in the left upper square, and the last—whose length is almost identical to the amount of space required by the first

[1] J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient* (Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 77; Paris 1964), 113. See also J. Dauvillier, 'Les croix triomphales dans l'ancienne Église chaldéenne', *Eléona* (1956) 11–17; K. Parry, 'Images in the Church of the East: The Evidence from Central Asia and China', *BJRL* 78 (1996), 143–175.

[2] MS St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Syr. 1, fol. 2 (Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*): Leroy, *Les manuscrits*, 113 and Plate 2.4.

two words together—in the opposite, right upper square (pattern Aa).[3] Alternatively, the first words are still written on the left part, but the second one is placed in the lower square; consequently, to achieve a well-balanced image, the last word is broken in two parts (ܠܨܠܒ ܩܒ), filling up the upper and lower right squares respectively (pattern Ab).[4]

Occasionally, a less bellicose phrase occurs, which is in fact a biblical quotation from Ps 34:6a[5] in the Peshitta translation: ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܫܟܠ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ 'Look towards him and trust in him', with an obvious reference to the salvific power of the cross.[6] As the quotation consists of four words, the artist can easily obtain a well-balanced image by writing two of them vertically on each of the upper squares (pattern Ba),[7] or each of them in one of the four squares (pattern Bb).[8] The following plate may help visualize the four different possibilities.

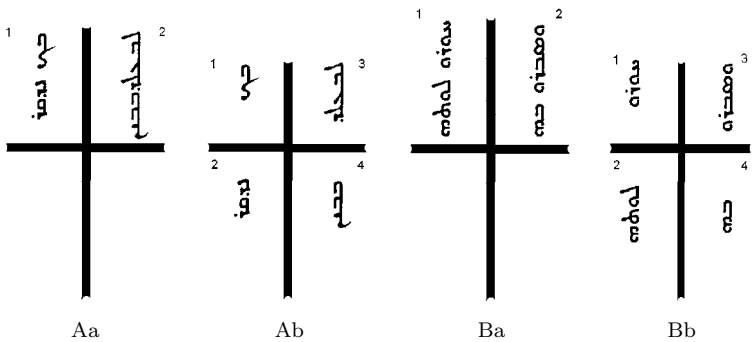

Plate 1a: Different patterns

[3] So MS Paris, BN Syr. 356 (XII/XIII century), f. 1v: Leroy, *Les manuscrits*, 409–410 and Plate 5.2.

[4] So MS Paris, BN Syr. 40 (dated 1190), f. 10v: Leroy, *Les manuscrits*, 120 and Plate 4.3; and MS Berlin, Preuss. Bibl., Sachau 322 (dated 1241), f. 7v: Leroy, *Les manuscrits*, 121 and Plate 6.1.

[5] Verse numbering according to the Leiden Peshitta Edition (= Hebrew Masoretic Text). According to Lee's Peshitta Edition, the verse number would be 5.

[6] The quotation occurs in MS Paris, BN Syr. 355 (13th century), f. 1r (Leroy, *Les manuscrits*, 268–280 and Plate 5.18) and MS Homs, Library of the Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate, Gospel book with a commentary by Dionisius bar Salibi (Leroy, *Les manuscrits*, 419 and Plate 8.39).

[7] So MS Homs, see n. 6.

[8] So MS Paris, BN Syr. 355, see n. 6. The use of inscriptions related with the image of the cross is found also in architectural decoration; for instance, the cross carved in the ܨܠܒ ܕܡܪ ܒܗܢܡ of the Mar Behnam monastery shows, besides the main inscription, the quotation of Ps 34:6 according to pattern Ba: F. Briquel Chatonnet, M. Debié, and A. Desreumaux (eds.), *Les inscriptions syriaques* (Paris, 2004), pl. IV.1.

Besides that, it is worth mentioning that a fifth pattern is attested, at least by one Syriac MS which shows the combination of both Syriac phrases written in a different order. A MS of this pattern was in all likelihood preserved in Mosul in the second half of twentieth century (Plate 1b).[9]

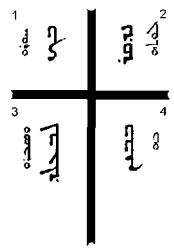

Plate 1b: Fifth pattern

Ten years ago, a Syro-Turkic funerary inscription found in China a decade earlier was published, which parallels this Near Eastern custom quite exactly.[10]

A funerary tile, measuring 42.7 cm × 39.5 cm × 6 cm, had been found near Chifeng (Songshan District, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region; ca. 350 km North-East of Beijing) in 1983–84. It bears the drawing of a cross, around which two inscriptions are depicted. The Turkic one, in Uyghur characters, is written vertically on both the left and right lower squares under the horizontal limb of the cross. According to the Turkic text, the tile marked the grave of a 'governor Yawnan, chief of the auxiliary troops', whose death is dated by the same inscription on 'the 20th day of the first month of the year of the Ox according to the Chinese reckoning', which corresponds to '1564 according to the reckoning of the emperor Alexander', that is, 1253 CE.

The Syriac inscription is also vertical, written over the horizontal limb of the cross, and consists in the quotation of Ps 34:6 in our pattern Ba (Fig. 1).

[9] A picture of the page showing the triumphant cross with the two phrases is published in J. Habbi, *The Churches of Mosul* (Baghdad, 1980), 29. In keeping with the popular character of the book, the author does not give a description of the MS or provide information on its whereabouts. From the picture one might hypotesize that the MSS dates back to the 13th–14th century, and that the quotation of Ps 34:6, written in *serto* characters, was added by a later hand.

[10] J. Hamilton and Niu Ru-Ji, 'Deux inscriptions funéraires turques nestoriennes de la Chine orientale', *JA* 282 (1994), 147–164, especially 147–155.

Figure 1: Chifeng tile (from Hamilton-Niu, 'Deux inscriptions')

The scholars who published the tile, James Hamilton and Niu Ruji, are of the opinion that 'Yawnan' (Jonas) was an Öngüd Christian. Indeed, we know from Middle Ages sources, more recently confirmed by archaeological findings, that 'Nestorian' Christianity was widespread with the Turco-Mongol people called 'Öngüd/Öngüt' (*i.e.* 'the Orientals', a Turkic word with Mongol plural suffix), who lived in the region that is nowadays Inner Mongolia, to the point of being the official religion of the ruling dinasty and the upper class. Among several interesting pieces of evidence about Öngüd Christianity, it might suffice to recall here the catholicos Mar Yahballaha III (1281–1317), who was an Öngüd born in Kawshang, the capital town of the Öngüd kingdom, and the Gospel book (MS Vatican Syriac 622, dated 1294), which was written, according to its colophon, for the sister of 'George, the glorious king of the Christians ... king of the *öngāyē* (ܥܘܢܓܝܐ)'.[11]

[11] The bibliography on Christianity in China is too wide to allow us here to quote even a small portion of it. The reader may refer to the extensive bibliographical article by J. Tubach, 'Die nestorianische Kirche in China', *Nubica et Aethiopica* 4/5

It is therefore not surprising to find in North-Eastern China a Christian funerary inscription where the deceased, a military official, bears a Syriac name. But the Chifeng tile is unique within the Syro-Turkic epigraphic evidence in Inner Asia[12] and China: for the most part, this relatively plentiful and typologically varied material consists of funerary texts—sometimes very short ones—engraved in stone.[13]

As both the cross and the inscriptions on Chifeng tile are *painted* in black ink on a *brick*, and not *engraved* on a *stone*, this feature makes it an *unicum*.

The other unique feature of the Chifeng tile is the quotation of Psalm 34:6, that is, the use of a Syriac biblical text in a funerary context. Indeed, the great majority of epigraphic texts from Inner Mongolia related to the Öngüd people are very short, and—what is even more important—the language is always Turkic. A literary source reminds us that the knowledge of the Syriac language was very limited among

(1999), 61–93, as a very helpful tool. The old A.Ch. Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550* (London, 1930) still remains the reference work, even when compared with the recent and updated N. Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China* 1. *635–1800* (Leiden, 2001). Dutch readers have the opportunity to find in T. Halbertsma, *De verloren lotuskruisen. Een zoektocht naar de steden, graven en kerken van vroege christenen in China* (Haarlem, 2002), a reliable popularizing work. On MS Vat. Syr. 622 see P.G. Borbone, 'I vangeli per la principessa Sara. Un manoscritto siriaco crisografato, gli Öngüt cristiani e il principe Giorgio', *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 26 (2003), 63–82.

[12] More specifically, the regions of modern Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan.

[13] Hundreds of 'Nestorian' gravestones were discovered by Russian explorers and archaeologists from the end of the 19th century onwards. See D. Chwolson, *Syrische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie* (St. Petersburg, 1886); idem, *Syrisch-nestorianische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie* (St. Petersburg, 1890); idem, *Syrisch-nestorianische Inschriften aus Semirjetschie. Neue Folge* (St. Petersburg, 1897). Some of these gravestones found their way from Russia to Western Europe, see F. Nau, 'Les pierres tombales nestoriennes du Musée Guimet', *ROC* 12 (1913), 3–35, 325–327; T.W. Thacker, 'A Nestorian gravestone from Central Asia in the Gulbenkian Museum Durham University', *Durham University Journal* 59 (1966/7), 94–107. Recent discoveries in Kyrgyzstan are published by W. Klein, *Das nestorianische Christentum an den Handelswegen durch Kyrgyzstan bis zum 14. Jh.* (Turnhout, 2000). Pictures of other gravestones recently discovered in Kazakhstan, some still undeciphered, are published in G. Curatola (ed.), *Sciamani e dervisci dalle steppe del Prete Gianni. Religiosità del Kazakhstan e percezione del fantastico a Venezia* (Venice, 2000; catalogue of the exhibition). Inner Asiatic gravestones are very simple: a cross and a short inscription in Syriac and/or in Turkic, written in Syriac characters, engraved on a raw stone. The 13th–14th century Christian cenotaphs from the Öngüd region are of a rather different shape (see for instance Halbertsma, *Lotuskruisen*, 107 and fig. 12). A third pattern is that found in the funerary inscriptions discovered in South-Eastern China and preserved in the Museum of Quanzhou (see for instance Moule, *Christians*, 78–83).

Öngüd Christians, so much so that the most famous among them declared himself ignorant in the matter: the Öngüd monk Mark, educated in the Christian faith in his homeland, arrived in Mesopotamia around 1275 and, chosen to become the *catholicos* of the Church of the East with the name of Yahballaha, once said that he did not have an adequate knowledge of Syriac. The *maphrian* Barhebraeus, who was acquainted with him, expressed the same opinion.[14] His statement is confirmed by archaeological findings, as epigraphic material of certain or probable Öngüd origin consists mostly of very brief Turkic texts written in the Syriac alphabet, and the use of the Syriac language appears limited to a single term on cenotaphs (*qabrā* 'tomb', in the stereotyped formula 'This is the tomb of PN'). A funerary stone from Olan Süme (Inner Mongolia, the site of the Öngüd's capital town)—an elegant stele with a cross engraved on its upper part—shows a trilingual text that is quite long when compared to the inscriptions on more common gravestones: a Turkic eulogy in two alphabets (Syriac and Uighur) and the corresponding Chinese version. One wonders why the same Turkic text was written twice, in the Syriac and Uyghur alphabet; the answer might be that the Syriac alphabet was intended as a clear mark of the Christian faith of the deceased, paralleling the symbol of the cross. The only other comparable tombstone, on the other hand—a decorated stele showing a relatively extensive text—bears only a Turkic text written in the Syriac alphabet.[15]

Ostensibly, the use of the Syriac language is not attested at all in the Öngüd Christian milieu, the word *qabrā* being just a borrowing in the Turkic Öngüd language.[16] Therefore, the biblical quotation of Ps 34:6 might be considered, so to say, a kind of 'liturgical' borrowing.

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[14] See P.G. Borbone, *Storia di Mar Yahballaha e di Rabban Sauma* (Turin, 2000), 69.

[15] Both stones are reproduced by Gai Shanlin, *Yinshan Wanggu* [*The Öngüd of the Mountains Yin*] (Hohhot, 1992), 316, fig. 158. Thanks to the kindness of Prof. Niu Ruji, I had the opportunity to examine the texts of the stele, published in his dissertation *Inscriptions et manuscrits nestoriens en écriture syriaque découverts en Chine (XIII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles)*, discussed in Paris, École pratique des Hautes Études, on the 29th of November, 2003.

[16] The case is interesting, because a word for 'tomb' used in modern Uyghur (mostly spoken in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region, China's People Republic) seems to be connected with this Middle Age Syriac borrowing, where in the other modern Turkic languages that word is clearly derived from Arabic *qabr*. Besides Turkish *kabır*, Azeri *ghäbir*, Bashkir *ghäbir*, Qazaq and Qyrgyz *kabır*, Tatar *kabir*, Uzbek *kabr*, we have in fact Uyghur *qävrä*. The best explanation for *qävrä*, phonetically closer to the Syriac form, is a probable derivation from the old Syriac borrowing. See *Karşılaştırmalı türk lehçeleri sözlüğü* (Ankara, 1991), 418–419.

If we examine the Syriac quotation closely, comparing it with the Peshitta text,[17] we find two small differences:

(1) the first word (ܐܝܬܘ, imperative 2nd pers. plur. from the verb 'to look') is spelled in the Chifeng text without the plural ending: ܐܬܘ.

(2) the third word, the imperative 2nd pers. plur. from the verb 'to hope, to trust' (*Pael*) is preceded by the conjunction ܘ in the Peshitta text (ܘܐܬܚܙܘ). But the Chifeng inscription reads ܐܬܚܙ.

Both cases are, in their own turn, readily understandable: (1) the plural imperative ending is mute; (2) the omission of a conjunction is a frequent variant.[18]

As we have seen, the Chifeng tile in typologically unique as a tombstone. Nevertheless, as far as the quotation of Ps 34:6 is concerned, it has a very interesting parallel. In 1919–20 two carved stones were discovered on the site of a buddhist temple called the 'Temple of the Cross' in the region of Fangshan, some 50 km West-South-West of Beijing.[19] The size of the two limestone blocks is almost identical: height 68.5 cm; front width 58.5 cm; side width 58 cm; in the rear there is a hollow whose depth is ca. 35 cm. So, if from the front and from the sides they have the appearance of a cube, when seen from the top they look U-shaped. It is impossible to say what their original use and meaning was: there is no apparent connection with graves, therefore the blocks are not gravestones. They probably date back to the 13th-14th century, close to the date given in the Chifeng tile.[20]

What is interesting for us now, is that both stones bear on the front a carefully carved triumphant cross, their sides being decorated with

[17] According to the Leiden and Lee editions.

[18] Indeed both mistakes occur in the quotation of Psalm 34:6 in MS BN Syr. 355 (see note 6), where instead of ܘܐܬܚܙܘ we read ܐܬܚ.

[19] A good summary of the story of the discovery is found in G. Schurhammer, 'Der Tempel des Kreuzes', *Asia Maior* 5 (1930), 247–255. See also Moule, *Christians*, 86–88, and P.G. Borbone, 'I blocchi con croci e iscrizione siriaca da Fangshan', *OCP*, forthcoming [2006]. Here we will not enter the discussion about the possibility that the buddhist Temple known as the 'Temple of the Cross' in Fangshan had been in past times (Yuan epoch?) a Christian site (see M. Guglielminotti Trivel, 'Tempio della croce – Fangshan – Pechino. Documentazione preliminare delle fonti epigrafiche *in situ*', *OCP* 71 [2005], 431–460).

[20] Cfr. Xu Pingfang, 'Beijing Fangshan Shizisi yelikewen shike' [Christian Sculptures from the Temple of the Cross, Fangshan, Beijing], in *Nanjing bowuyuan cangbao lu* [*Catalogue of the Treasures preserved in the Nanjing Museum*] (Hong Kong, 1992), 263–264. The stones are presently in the Nanjing Regional Museum; as they are not on display, I owe the possibility to study them to the kind cooperation of Prof. Xu Huping, the director, and Drs. Ling Bo, keeper of the Nanjing Museum (September 2003).

carvings of vases with flowers. One of the two, moreover, shows a Syriac inscription, which is again the quotation of Ps 34:6 (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Fangshan stone with cross and inscription
(P.G. Borbone, Nanjing 2003)

If the discovery is interesting because it parallels the Chifeng tile quite closely, at a closer examination it becomes astonishing, because the inscriptions, although so short and simple, diverge from each other.

The first difference is the pattern: the Chifeng inscription follows our pattern Ba, the Fangshan quotation follows Bb.

Secondly, the Fangshan inscription, when compared to the Peshitta text, appears quite exact. On the contrary, as already noticed, in the Chifeng inscription we found two variants.

The script of both texts can be described as oriental, and the shape of the letters is very similar—taking into account that the Fangshan inscription is carved on stone, while the Chifeng one is written with a brush. The only letter which differs is the ܐ, the shape of which is more clearly 'Nestorian' in the Fangshan inscription, and closer to *estrangelo* on the Chifeng tile. But the two shapes are found alongside each other in many Syriac MSS (Plate 2).[21]

[21] As a look at the script tables in Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik* (Darmstadt, 1997), shows. In addition, we could say that the the Öngüd *catholicos* Mar Yahballaha III, who was mainly taught in Syriac *writing* (see note 14) in China, used both shapes of ܐ in the same line when writing to the Pope in 1304 (see the plates in L. Bottini, 'Due lettere inedite del patriarca mar Yahballaha III (1281–1317)', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* [1992], 239–256).

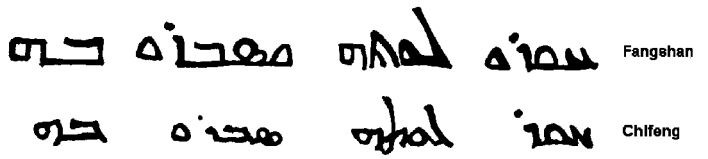

Plate 2: The Fangshan and Chifeng Syriac inscriptions compared

What we noticed may suffice as evidence that the two inscriptions are not a copy of each other, being different in pattern as well as orthography. Consequently, they bear witness to the fact that a custom related in the Syriac Near East to book decoration, but rooted in apotropaic conceptions, was transferred in the milieu of Syro-Turkic Christianity in Northern China. In the case of the Chifeng tile, it was transposed to a funerary use. As for the Fangshan stone, we do not know what its use originally was, and consequently cannot fully explain what exactly the aim was for quoting Ps 34:6 on the stone. Nevertheless, the connection with the triumphant cross is clear—and one wonders why the other cross-carved stone was left without quotation.

I would suggest that this use was introduced in Northern China from just one—or better, more than one, taking into account that the two quotations differ—Syriac MS(S) which reached the Far East. We may expect, taking for granted that at least a copy of the Gospel had to be preserved in each church to suit liturgical needs, that such books were widespread among the Christian communities in Inner Asia and China. Nevertheless, until now only fragments of Christian liturgical books containing New Testament texts have been found there.[22] It is

[22] See F.W.K. Müller, 'Neutestamentliche Bruchstücke in soghdischer Sprache', *Sitzungsberichte der pr. Ak. der Wiss.* (1907) 260–270; portions of Matthew (10:14 ss.), Luke (1:63–80), John (20:19 ss.) are preserved, but not in Syriac. Gal 3:25–46 is attested by a bilingual Syro-Sogdian fragment; the Syriac text of Gal 3:7–10 and 1 Cor 1:18–19 was published by W. Klein and J. Tubach, 'Ein syrisch-christliches Fragment aus Dunhuang/China', *ZDMG* 144 (1994), 1–13, pl. p. 446 (both the edition and the interpretation were corrected and improved by H. Kaufhold, 'Anmerkungen zur Veröffentlichung eines syrischen Lektionarfragments', *ZDMG* 146 (1996), 49–60. Old Testament texts (portions of the prophetical books, the Psalms and Odae) are preserved in the MS Syriac 4, John Rylands Library, written in China in 1725 from a copy dating back to 752/3 (= 18<13dt1, to be corrected in 18<8dt1, see J.F. Coakley, 'A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library', *BJRL* 75 [1993], 105–207, especially 120–123). Another source for Old Testament Peshitta texts are the fragments of liturgical MSS with portions of the book of Psalms: see W.R. Taylor, 'Syriac Mss. Found in Peking, ca. 1925', *JAOS* 61 (1941) 91–97, and the recent publication by Duan Qing of Pss 15:2–4; 17:1–4; 21:1–4; 23:1–4;

no more than a guess, but perhaps the quotations of Ps 34:6 in Chifeng and Fangshan bears witness to the use of decorated Syriac MSS in the Far East.

24:1–5; 25:1–5; 28:1–5 in a MS found at Dunhuang (Duan Qing, 'Dunhuang xin chutu xuliyawen wenshu shidu baogao' [Report about the new Syriac MS discovered at Dunhuang], in Peng Jinzhang and Wang Jianjun (eds.), *Dunhuang Mogaoku beiqu shiku* [Northern Grottoes of Mogaoku, Dunhuang] 1 (Beijing, 2000), 382–389; Duan Qing, 'Bericht über ein neuentdecktes syrisches Dokument aus Dunhuang/China', *OrChr* 85 (2001) 84–93. This newly found Syriac MS may be dated to the 13th century. Some verses of Psalms 1–2 are written on an older *ostrakon* from Panjakent, Tajikistan: see A.V. Paykova, 'The Syrian Ostracon from Panjikant', *Muséon* 92 (1979), 159–169.

AN UNKNOWN SYRIAC VERSION OF ISAIAH 1:1–2:21

Sebastian P. Brock

1. *Introduction*

All who have prepared editions of the *Vetus Testamentum Syriace* will be conscious of owing a huge debt of gratitude to Konrad Jenner for the meticulous care with which he has overseen the final publications. Having come across, in the course of preparing the edition of Peshitta Isaiah,[1] a puzzling new Syriac translation of Isaiah 1:1–2:21, this Festschrift in Konrad Jenner's honour seems a good opportunity to publish this otherwise unknown translation, and to offer some comments on it.

Three seventeenth-century manuscripts of Peshitta Isaiah (17a1.2.4), all written in Jerusalem, were evidently copied directly or indirectly from a manuscript which had lost the opening folios of Isaiah, containing 1:1–2:21. It is well known that 17a1.2.4 all go back to 15a2 for the first half of the Old Testament and to 14a1 for the second half; also that 17a4 (dated 1614) was copied from the first half of 17a2 (dated 1612), but that the second half of 17a2 (dated 1615) was copied from 17a4.[2] Furthermore, the (Syrian Orthodox) scribe of the first half of 17a2 (Abraham, from Quṣur,[3] near Mardin, dated 1612) was also the scribe of much of 17a1 (undated), and the (Maronite) scribe of the second half of 17a2 (1615) was also the scribe of 17a4 (Eliya of Ehden,[4] dated 1614).

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[1] S.P. Brock (ed.), *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version* 3.1. *Isaiah* (Leiden, 1987). I take the opportunity to note some small corrections that should be made to the Introduction: p. ix, line 2: instead of 'Sunday of Mysteries', read 'Thursday of Mysteries'; p. x, line 4: the lectionary heading for 1:1 is in a second hand; and lines 9–10: instead of 'third lection for Holy Saturday', read 'Tuesday of Holy Week'.

[2] P.B. Dirksen, *The Transmission of the Text in the Peshitta Manuscripts of the Book of Judges* (MPIL 1; Leiden, 1972), 45–51; M.D. Koster, *The Peshitta of Exodus: the Development of its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries* (Assen, 1977), 22–23; A. Gelston, *The Peshitta of the Twelve Prophets* (Oxford, 1987), 38–45.

[3] The Syrian Orthodox metropolitan of Jerusalem at this time (Gregorios Behnam, copyist of several manuscripts) was also from Quṣur: see H. Kaufhold's review of J.-M. Fiey, *Pour un Oriens Christianus Novus*, in *OrChr* 79 (1995), 256.

[4] For him, see Koster, *Peshitta of Exodus*, 261. He was also the scribe of Paris syr. 275 (1606).

In 17a1, however, two other scribes, both Maronite, were also at work (Antonius Sionita,[5] and Sargis al-Jubaili[6]); the latter was evidently responsible for the opening of Isaiah.

This complicated situation can be set out as follows:

First half of OT:

15a2 → 17a1 (Abraham of Quṣur)
15a2 → 17a2 (Abraham of Quṣur; 1612) ⟶ 17a4 (Eliya of Ehden; 1614)

Second half of OT:

14a1 → 17a1 (Abraham; Antonius, and Sargis)
14a1 → 17a4 (Eliya of Ehden; 1614) ⟶ 17a2 (Eliya of Ehden; 1615)

The fact that 14a1 today begins with 1:17, rather than 2:21, might at first suggest that for Isaiah 17a1.2.4 must derive from some other, lost, manuscript, and not from14a1; this, however, is not the case for, as Marinus Koster has very perceptively observed, the second folio of Isaiah in 14a1 begins exactly where the lacuna in 17a1.2.4 ends: in other words, the first folio (beginning at 1:17) must have been misplaced in the early seventeenth century when it was copied in Jerusalem.[7]

Whereas the missing text was replaced in 17a1 and 17a4 by the Syriac text of unknown provenance, published below, in 17a2 there is, instead, a Garshuni version in the left hand column of each page, while the right hand column has been left blank, presumably awaiting a Syriac text. This Garshuni version is evidently originally derived from the Peshitta, and since it is a fairly close translation of that version,[8] it cannot be the source of the rather paraphrastic Syriac version in 17a1.4, which (as will be seen) evidently also goes back to an Arabic source.

It is clear from the spacing of 1:1–2:21 in 17a1 that the scribe (here, Sargis) has supplied the missing text (f. 201ab) only after the rest of

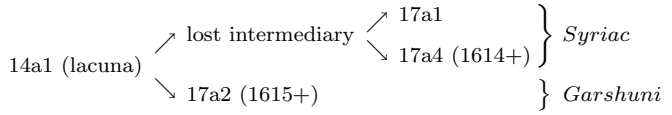
[5] Copyist of Florence, Pal. Med. or. 2 (1611, Syriac–Garshuni NT); on him see G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* 1 (StT 118; Vatican City, 1944), 138, and vol. 3 (StT 146; 1949), 342. He died in Paris in 1648.

[6] He was the scribe of Vatican Borg. 28 (dated 1581), Paris syr. 60 and 85 (both dated 1582), and of Cambridge Mm. 4.18 (dated 1601); in the last manuscript he also mentions the several of the same names that he gives in notes in 17a1.

[7] Koster, *Peshitta of Exodus*, 257–62. The folio was evidently found not long afterwards, for 17a5.10 were then copied from it.

[8] It also provides the distinctive Syriac chapter division, after 2:9. This Garshuni version is unrelated to the Arabic version in Walton's Polyglot, and to the versions of Pethion (e.g. in Oxford, Seldon.Arch.A.67 [Uri VI], of 1457), of Saʿadya (e.g. in Oxford, Pococke 32 [Uri 156 = Neuberger 182] and to the anonymous version in Oxford, Hunt 206 [Uri 40]. Of these, Pethion's version was also made from the Peshitta: see A. Vaccari, 'Le versioni arabe dei profeti 2. La versione sira', *Biblica* 3 (1922), 401–23.

Isaiah, from 2:21 onwards, had been copied; right at the end he provides, at the bottom of the page, the catchword ܕܡ, indicating the first word of the next folio, where the Peshitta text resumes. In 17a4 the missing text of 1:1–2:21 has also been added subsequently, but at the end the scribe has included in the text the catchword ܕܡ, so that this now duplicates the beginning of the Peshitta text on the next folio: in other words, 17a4 must have been copied from a manuscript, such as 17a1, where the catchword was present. Though most of the small variations between 17a4 and 17a1 can be explained as mistakes in 17a4, there is one place (1:8) in particular where 17a4 has the correct reading. This suggests that 17a1 cannot have been the direct source of 17a4, and that, for the passage 1:1–2:21, the following must apply (in contrast to the situation for the rest of the Prophets):



The presence of the Peshitta's early chapter division (after 2:9) in 17a4, but not in 17a1, also suggests that 17a4 is not copied directly from 17a1.

With these preliminaries, we can turn to the supplied Syriac text in 17a1.4.

2. *Edition of the Text*

1:1 ܚܙܘܬ ܐܝܫܥܝܗ ܕܩܒܠ ܚܙܝܢܘܬ ܥܠ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܘܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܒܝܘܡܝ ܥܘܙܝܐ ܘܝܘܬܡ ܘܐܚܙ ܘܚܙܩܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ.

2 ܫܡܥܘ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܨܝܢܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܡܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܡܠܠ ܒܢܝܬ ܘܪܒܝܬ ܘܐܢܘܢ ܥܩܪܘ ܒܝ.

3 ܝܕܥ ܬܘܪܐ ܩܢܝܗ ܘܚܡܪ ܒܐܘܪܝܬܗ ܝܫܪܝܠ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܥܡܝ ܠܐ ܐܬܒܘܢܢ.

4 ܘ ܐܘܝ ܠܗܢ ܥܡܐ ܚܛܝܐ ܥܡܐ ܟܒܝܕ ܒܚܛܗ ܙܪܥ ܒܝܫܐ ܒܢܝ ܫܚܬ ܥܒܕܝ ܡܪܝ ܐܬܟܪܘ ܠܩܕܝܫ ܝܫܪܝܠ ܐܬܪܚܩܘ ܐܚܘܪ.

5 ܥܠ ܡܐ ܬܬܢܟܝ ܥܘܕ ܬܘܣܦܘܢ ܣܪܝ ܟܠ ܪܝܫ ܚܠܝ ܘܟܠ ܠܒܒ ܕܘܝ.

6 ܡܢ ܦܐܬ ܪܓܠܐ ܥܕ ܪܝܫ ܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܠܡ ܐܠܐ ܦܨܥ ܘܚܒܘܪ ܘܡܟܬܐ ܛܪܝܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܣܝܪ ܘܠܐ ܚܒܫ ܘܠܐ ܡܪܟ ܒܫܡܢܐ.

7 ܐܪܥܟ ܚܪܒܐ ܥܪܝܗ ܢܘܪܐ ܣܢܝ ܐܪܥܟ ܩܕܡܝܟ ܙܪ ܐܟܠ ܘܫܡܡܐ ܐܪܥ ܙܪ ܐܟܠ ܘܬܗܦܟ ܐܪܥ ܙܪ ܐܟܠ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܡ[?]ܐ ܒܫܒܝ ܒܬ ܨܝܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܛܠܬܐ ܒܟܪܡ ܐܝܟ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܛܪܪܬ.

8 ܗܢܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܫܡܥ ܟܬܒܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܫܡ ܥܡܐ ܗܘ ܠܡ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܗܘ
ܫܡܥ ܟܬܒܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܫܡ ܥܡܐ ܗܘ ܠܡ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܗܢܐ ܕܟܬܒ :ܗܘ
9 ܕܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܡܝܢ ܕܐܡ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܟܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ
ܕܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܡܝܢ ܕܐܡ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܟܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ
ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܡܝܢ ܕܐܡ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܟܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ❖ ܐܡ ܟܬܒܬ ܡܝܢܐ
10 ܟܝܢ ܐܢ ܐܡܪܬ : ܟܠܡ ܟܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܫܒܝܟ ܒܪܘܟ ܟܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܟܬܒ
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5 For this reason they will be tormented and tortured in chastisement, and *every head* (*will end up*) *in pain*, *and every heart in grief*:
6 *from the* 'walls' *of the foot up to* the skull, *there is no* healthy *place*. *Sores* and ulcers and *wounds* and swelling: it will not be bandaged up, nor will it be healed, nor will it be moistened with anointing.
7 I WILL SMITE YOU WITH ULCERS and your cities will be devastated, and your lands scorched *by fire*. And YOUR FIGHTING ABILITY will be taken away from you, and *foreigners will consume* ALL THAT YOU HAVE—AND YOU WILL BE LOOKING ON. And YOUR COURTS [... ? ...] from you, like waste land (?), because foreigners HAVE TAKEN CONTROL OVER IT.
8 *And the daughter of Sion* has become *like a hut* which is *in a vineyard*, *and like* a tent which is in a cucumber (patch), *and like a town which* is under constraint.
9 *And if the Lord Sabaoth had not left over for us a remnant*, *we would have been like Sodom*, *and* we *would have resembled Gomorrah*.
10 *Listen*, O magnates *of Sodom* to the utterance *of the Lord*, THE ALMIGHTY; *and give ear*, O men of *Gomorrah*, to the judgement of the Lord, THE ALMIGHTY,
11 concerning the thing (in) which they have been cursed, with *the multitude of their sacrifices*, *says the Lord*, because my soul has abhorred the offerings of lambs *and the fat of fattened* (*animals*), *and* with *the blood of bulls and of lambs and goats I have not* been *pleased*.
12 And when you stand before me to *see my presence*, *who is it* who *asks* of you that? For, look, you are trampling *my courts*.
13 You shall not be coming to me with *empty* gifts (lit. of emptiness), because I abhor your feasts and your sacrifices; BUT YOU GATHER TOGETHER AT YOUR FEASTS and at your new moons, and on your sabbaths you assemble crowds.
14 But I have abhorred *your feasts*; and I *have abhorred* them and *your* new moons: it is like a *heavy* burden *upon me*.
15 And when you hasten to me, I turn away my face *from you*; and *if* you multiply *prayer*, *I do not listen* TO IT FROM YOU, BECAUSE *your hands are full of blood*.
16 GO, THEN, wash and get clean, and keep away from *acts* of wickedness *from my sight*; *cease*, AND PASS ON *from evil deeds,*
17 and do good ones. And investigate after the truth, deliver *the oppressed* with honesty; and *judge the orphans and widows* WITH HONESTY.
18 THEN *come* TO ME, *we will speak with each other*, *says the Lord*, *and if your sins shall be as scarlet*, and red as flesh, YOU SHALL BE WASHED FROM IT, and *like snow*, made *white as* PURE *wool*.

19 *And if* you shall come to me, and you *listen* to me, you are going to *eat* the *good* things *of the earth.*
20 *But if* you rebel against me, and return to your (former) conduct, the sword will destroy you. This is the utterance *of the Lord*, THE LORD OF LORDS.
21 *How has the city* of *faith become* (a place of) fornication, (the city) which formerly *was full* of uprightness and honesty, and IN IT WERE BLESSINGS; *but now* it has been changed and become (a place of) bloodshed,
22 and they have hated my judgements, and the owners of its shops *mix water* into the wine.
23 And its masters have rebelled against me and allied themselves to robbers, and *all of them love* interest, *and hasten* (to give) punishment, and do not hold *orphans* to be innocent; and *judgement for widows* is not set apart by them.
24 *Because of this*, *says the Lord of lords*, *the almighty*, the warrior *of Israel*, I am going to judge whoever struggles against me, *and I will avenge myself on my enemies*;
25 and I will turn *my hand against* them and destroy their rebelliousness; AND I WILL PURSUE THEM. BUT IF THEY TURN TO ME, I will forgive them their sins and cleanse them.
26 *And I will establish* their *judges*, exactly as it was *previously.* And I will establish their king WITH HONESTY, and their city shall be *called the city* of honesty and *of faith.*
27 And *Sion* will be delivered by uprightness, HONESTY AND FAITH, and her laws (followed) with rectitude.
28 And the masters of sin and of oppression will perish *all together*, *and those* who deny God will *be ashamed*
29 and perish along with their *idols* in which they have taken *delight.* And their idols *which they have chosen* and IN WHICH THEY HAVE TRUSTED shall be (put to) shame,
30 and *they will become like* a *terebinth* TREE whose *leaves fall*, *and like* cisterns in which there is *no water.*
31 And *their* greatness *shall become* emptiness, *and their works* like *a spark* OF FIRE WHICH FALLS INTO THE FLAME WHICH WILL BURN IT UP: thus shall they be scorched up *all together*, and THEY WILL NOT FIND anyone *to put it out* for them.

[Chapter 2]
1 The prophecy of *Isaiah*, *son of Amos*, *concerning* THE HOUSE OF *Judah and Jerusalem.*
2 Those things which are going to happen at the end of *days*: they

will happen on *the mountain* of God which is by the temple of God which is *established* on *the tops of mountains* and heights, THAT IS, THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, which is much *higher* than all mountains; for to it shall be gathered *many peoples*, and all shall look to it,

3 *and say* ONE TO ANOTHER, Walk among us, so that we may *go up to the mountain of the Lord*, *and* to *the God of Jacob*, and he will teach us his judgements and *walk* in *his ways*, *because* THE LORD *will cause the Law to go forth from Sion*, and the word of God *from Jerusalem*.

4 *And* THE LORD OF LORDS *shall judge among the peoples*, *and he will reprove many* subjugated *peoples*; and they will make their swords into *ploughshares*, and THE BLADES OF their *spears into sickles*, *and* (one) *people will not raise a sword against* (another) *people*, and *they will not learn about war any more*.

5 Those of *the House of Jacob* WILL SAY, *Come* AMONGST US and let us walk in the *light* of God.

6 *Because* it is you who have brought low *your people of the House of Jacob*, because they imagine as they were *previously*, and they will NOT carry out divination like *the Philistines*, and they have brought up some of the *children* of MANY *strangers*;

7 *and their land has been filled with gold and silver*, and it cannot be counted for THEIR TREASURES AND *their treasuries*; *and their land is filled with horses*, which *cannot* be counted, nor can *their chariots*.

8 And *their lands* are *filled with idols* to worship AND THEY WILL SERVE the labour of *their hands* and the work *of their fingers*.

9 For see, *people* have been scattered, and *men* have fallen, and there is *not* (anyone) left *for them*.

¶ Kephalaion 2.

10 And they will enter into the rocks and into the crannies of the earth will they enter *before the fear of the Lord* OF LORDS, THE ALMIGHTY, and before the glory of his majesty.

11 And he will humiliate the *eyes* of the proud, and bring *low* a man's majesty; and majesty will (belong) to the one God *on that day*,

12 *because* the anger of God is *upon* the person who acts proudly, and has bragged

13 and acted proudly like *the cedars of Lebanon*; who has exalted himself and been raised up like *an oak* TREE OF BASHAN.

14 *And* (it is) *against all* lofty *mountains*, *and against all the heights that are high up*,

15 *and against* every high *tower*, *and against every* strengthened wall,

16 *and against all the ships of Tarshish*, *and against all* the watch posts that are high up:

17 will the majesty of humans *be brought low*, and the haughtiness *of man* be brought low? And majesty shall (belong) to the one God *on that day.*
18 And images *and idols* will be rejected and will perish all together;
19 *and they shall enter the caves* of mountains, and the crevices of the earth *before the presence of the fear of the Lord*, *and before* the presence of his majesty *when he arises* to trample *the earth*;
20 and he will judge *on that day.* Then *people* will cast (away) *the idols of gold and of silver* which they have made to worship and serve in hiding, in vain, and they will be like *bats* of the night;
21 they will enter *caves* and crevices of the earth, *before the presence of the fear of the Lord*, |

4. *Discussion*

There are several places where the translation is problematic.

At 1:6 'walls of the feet' is distinctly odd. A loan from Arabic أسّ *ʾuss*, 'foundation', seems improbable.

At 1:7 the text has two words which cannot be construed as Syriac:

– ܐܡܚܦܐ (17a4 ܐܡܚܦܐ): a verb is required here, with 'your courts' as either subject or object; since the whole phrase has no counterpart in the Hebrew and other ancient versions, no help can be sought from them. A corrupted form from the root ܡܚܐ seems most improbable, and though one might suggest emending to ܢܬܡܦܟ, 'shall be overturned', which would fit the context, it is very difficult to see how such a corruption could have arisen. The form thus awaits a more satisfactory solution.[10]

– ܡܚܐܦܪܐ: this corresponds to Peshitta ܟܒܫܒܐ and MT מהפכת. The form is definitely un-Syriac, and it must be a coincidence (given the complete lack of correspondence elsewhere) that the Garshuni version of 17a2 here also has ܡܚܐܦܪܐ. The word is clearly an Arabic one, meaning 'land on which it has not rained, without vegetation'.[11]

At 2:6 the addition of the negative makes it difficult to know how best to translate this verse; other possibilities involve taking ܐܣܒܘ ܒܝ in different ways: either '... and they have increased it (= divination) more than the children of many strangers'; or '... and they have practised usury more than the children of many strangers'.

At 2:17 the ambiguity of ܟܠܐ makes it uncertain whether to take the sentence as a question (thus in the translation above), or to translate it as '... in case (the majesty ... might be brought low ...)'.

[10] A form (corrupted) of Arabic فكّ *fakka*, 'break up', might just be a possibility.
[11] See E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* 1 (London, 1863), 70.

The large amount of text that is in common with the Peshitta (italicized) at once indicates that this version must have its roots in the Peshitta. There are a number of indications, however, that we are dealing (at least in part) with a translation from Arabic (but clearly not from any of the otherwise known Arabic versions, including 17a2): this is shown, not only by the Arabic word in 1:7, already mentioned, but also by a number of Arabisms, in particular 1:12 ܩܕܡ ܥܡܝ with the sense 'in my presence', 1:8 ܩܛܐ (evidently based on Arabic قثاء *qiṯṯāʾ*, 'cucumber'), and the singular suffixes in 17a1 at 1:29, 2:8, and 20 (all altered to plural in 17a4 in conformity with Syriac syntax).

Comparison of the large amount of non-Peshitta material with the other ancient versions provides no significant links. The very occasional agreements with one or other are best attributed to coincidence: thus 1:1 'vision'] 'prophecy' 17a1.4 = Targum; 1:18 'wool'] 'pure wool' 17a1.4 = Targum, and 1:31 'spark'] + 'of fire' 17a1.4 = Targum. Likewise with 1:3 'know ... understand'] 'know me ... understand me' 17a1.4 = LXX. In 1:4 17a1.4 have the verbs in 3 pl., in agreement with MT and Vulgate (against 2 pl. in LXX and Peshitta), but they continue with 3 pl. in verse 5 where MT and Vulgate have 2 pl. (At 1:25–6, where the 2nd fem. sg. has been altered to 3rd pl., no parallels are to be found; compare also 1:11).

Though a running commentary on the non-Peshitta elements in this version would be worthwhile, here it must suffice just to point to certain distinctive features in this new Syriac version.

Perhaps the most striking feature is the considerable amount of additional material (given in small capitals in the translation). Here one verse in particular stands out, 2:2 with its identification of 'the mountain of God' as the Mount of Olives. Although the Mount of Olives is identified in Zech 14:4 with the place from which the Lord will fight against the peoples who have taken Jerusalem, the inspiration for the addition here might better be linked with mention of the Mount of Olives in certain later apocalyptic writings, such as a text known to the tenth-century Latin writer Adso,[12] based on a lost Greek Vision of Daniel attributed to Hippolytus and probably belonging to the late ninth century,[13] and the twelfth-century *Maʿaseh Daniel*, where Elijah and Zerubbabel will go up to the top of the Mount of Olives and the Messiah will bid Elijah to sound the trumpet, prior to the Resurrection.[14] However, although Isa 2:2 is already understood as eschatological in the

[12] E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), 186.

[13] P. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, 1985), 108 (n. 29), 158, 216. (It should be noted, however, that the Mount of Olives does not feature in the Syriac Apocalypse of Ps. Methodius, although it does in the Latin tradition).

[14] A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch* 5 (3rd ed.; Jerusalem, 1967), 128.

Didascalia (Chapter 23), there does not appear to be any identification of the mountain as the Mount of Olives in any ancient commentary tradition.[15]

Next to the additions, the many paraphrastic renderings are noticeable. A selection of these will indicate their general character. A translation of the Peshitta (= MT) is given to the left of the brackets, and of the unknown version to the right:

1:4 the people strong in wickedness] the people whose guilt is great.
1:11 what are they to me] concerning the thing (in) which they have been cursed.
1:15 when you spread out your hands] and when you hasten to me.
1:18 red like crimson dye] red like flesh.
1:19 if you are persuaded] if you shall come to me.
1:20 if you are not persuaded] but if you rebel against me.
and argue] and return to your (former) conduct.
1:21 murderers] it has been changed and become (a place of) bloodshed.
1:22 your silver has been rejected] they have hated my judgement.
1:23 bribe] interest.
1:28 who have abandoned the Lord] who deny God.
2:3 the law will go forth] the Lord will cause the law to go forth.
2:8 the work of their hands] the labour of their hands.
2:9 man is brought low] for see, people have been scattered.
2:11 and the Lord alone will be strong] and majesty will (belong) to the one God (similarly in 2:17).
2:19 of stone] of mountains.
2:21 of stone] of the earth.

It is often very hard to see how some of these have come about.

The handling of divine names is rather free: 'God' replaces 'the Lord' at 1:28, 2:2, 5, 12 and 17 (the reverse only occurs at 1:10). Several supplementary titles are also found: 'Lord of lords' (1:20, 2:4), 'the almighty' (1:10 bis), and a combination of these two (2:10).

Explanatory expansions are rather frequent, notably at 1:7, 13, 16, 18, 21, 25, 29, 31; 2:2, 4, and 20. The addition of ܒܫܘܪܪܐ 'with honesty' occurs three times (1:17, 26, 27). Double renderings feature at 2:8 and 20 ('worship ... serve') and 2:18 ('images ... idols'; 'be rejected ... perish').

[15] Since the scribes of both manuscripts were Maronites, one should not rule out a Latin source.

It will have become clear that this short interpretative supplement poses a number of problems: the absence of any links with other translations (apart from the Peshitta which was evidently its starting point), together with the lack of any good parallels to its more idiosyncratic alterations and expansions, renders it very difficult to offer any worthwhile suggestion concerning the milieu in which the supplement originated. Was the supplement composed specifically to make good the lacuna in 14a1 (in which case we at least have a *terminus post quem* for its composition), or was it derived from some already existing, but now lost, complete expanded translation of Isaiah? These are all questions for which at present it does not seem to me possible to offer any satisfactory answer. It is to be hoped, however, that someone else may in the future be able to discover a solution.

IN RETROSPECT

*Piet Dirksen**

The upcoming retirement of Dr. Konrad Jenner is an appropriate occasion for a retrospective view of a period during the greater part of which Dr. Jenner was part of the staff of the Peshitta Institute. Beginning in February 1971 he has been working together with three directors, before becoming the director himself in 1993. The three are Professor Piet de Boer († 1989), who together with Dr. Wim Baars set up the Institute and headed it till the end of 1980, Professor Martin Mulder († 1994; director during 1981), and the present writer (director from 1 January 1982 till 31 October 1993).

The Peshitta Institute, part of the Faculty of Theology of Leiden University, was set up as the editorial, organizational and financial centre of the Peshitta Project, the publication of the first scientific edition ever of the Old Testament Peshitta text. As early as 1953 the Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT) at Copenhagen expressed the need for a scholarly edition of the Peshitta text. An Advisory Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of D. Winton Thomas (Cambridge) and six years later, at the IOSOT Congress at Oxford in 1959, it was decided to embark on this project. De Boer was asked to become the General Editor and accepted the challenge. Leiden University endorsed the Project by providing office space and facilities.

The Peshitta Institute was first accommodated in a spacious room at Rapenburg 61, Leiden, a location which had something symbolic: it was next to the Theological Institute at number 59, as if to emphasize that the Peshitta Project was also part of Semitic studies and therefore indeed next to but not part of Theology. In the early seventies the Institute moved to Rapenburg 46, opposite Theology. This move marked the only period the Institute had a building entirely for itself, although it was just a cozy house of limited size. Only a brass nameplate at the outside indicated what was going on inside, that is, for insiders. For outsiders 'Peshitta' did not mean anything. I remember that once, when I left the Institute, a passer-by, who was looking attentively at

*I am very grateful to Mr. Dick Gibson, Lakeland, FL, for checking the English of this article and suggesting a number of corrections and improvements.

the nameplate, asked me whether 'Peshitta' was an infectious disease, being studied in this Institute. In 1982 the Institute moved to the new university buildings on the Witte Singel, where it was housed under one roof with Semitic Languages, and—again—next to the Theological Institute. Finally, in the wake of an internal reshuffle, the Institute was accommodated in the Theological Institute, where it has been and felt at home ever since, enjoying good relations with its neighbours, Semitic languages.

As a structural connection between the Peshitta Institute and the IOSOT the 'Peshitta Committee' was established, composed of five scholars from various countries and headed first by Professor Matthew Black (St. Andrews) and from 1968 till 1980 by Professor William McKane (St. Andrews). Gradually this connecting line faded, and in the long run the only concrete expression of the Institute's origin was the report by the Director of the Project at the triennial IOSOT Congress. Not important but telling nevertheless is the fact that the 'Peshitta Institute Communications' (PIC) used to be published in *Vetus Testamentum*, the IOSOT's quarterly, the last time (PIC 22) in *VT* 42 (1992), 377–390, but are now accomodated in *Aramaic Studies*, the first time (PIC 23) in *AS* 2 (2004), 85–106. This change is also indicative of the wider context of Peshitta research (see below). However, for major changes in the 'Peshitta Project', viz. the publication of the *Concordance*,[1] and the planned English translation of the Peshitta (see below), authorization was asked and received from the IOSOT. Actually, the Concordance is published as Part 5 of 'The Old Testament in Syriac', and as such under the aegis of the IOSOT.

The first phase of the project consisted in making an inventory of all accessible Peshitta manuscripts, to obtain or to make microfilms or microfiches of them, and a search for yet unknown manuscripts. This involved a lot of travelling to European libraries, and to libraries, museums, churches, monasteries and private persons in the Middle East, both by De Boer and Baars. De Boer wrote detailed diaries of his six journeys through the Middle East between 1953 and 1967, which are kept in the Leiden University Library as part of the De Boer Archive, under number BPL 3222:7. The costs of these travels and many other expenses were covered by contributions from a number of university institutions and other organizations in various countries. Very substantial support came for many years from the Netherlands Organization for the Advance-

[1] K.D. Jenner and P.G. Borbone, *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version* 5. *Concordance* 1. *The Pentateuch* (Leiden etc., 1997).

ment of Pure Research (ZWO), now the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), and the Swedish Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities. Control of the financial dealings was entrusted to the officially registered *Stichting Peshitta* (Peshitta Foundation), the Board of which meets twice a year.

These activities resulted in a unique collection of hundreds of microfilms/fiches in the Peshitta Institute, which in the course of years has been consulted by scholars from all over the world. For the outside scholarly world the first visible result was the *List of Old Testament Peshiṭta Manuscripts (Preliminary Issue*), edited by the Peshitta Institute and published by Brill, Leiden, as early as 1961, of which a thoroughly revised and expanded edition is planned to appear in due time.

In the beginning it was hoped, if not expected, that in some ten years, that is by 1970, the edition would be completed. Gradually this unofficial deadline was pushed up. In 1981 the General Editor still hoped that the edition could be complete in 1985 'if everyone involved in the work fulfils his part of the task he has undertaken, and if the circumstances of our days ... allow its production'.[2] But every expectation proved to be unrealistic. On the one hand checking and modifying the material submitted by the book editors, writing or rewriting the introduction, adding the material from the lectionaries, and making everything ready for the printer took much more time than anticipated. On the other hand financial restraints led to a reduction in working hours of the two full-timers working on the edition, and by the end of 1988 also in their number, the only full-timer from then on being Dr. Jenner. In November 1993 he became part of the regular staff of the Faculty and could from then devote his time only to a limited extent to his work on the edition. It was only in 1972 that the first volume of the edition appeared, viz. Vol. 4.6, which was actually the last of the whole series, including part of the Apocrypha. To date thirteen volumes have been published, with four more volumes to come.

In the past the number of available manuscripts was limited, apart from the fact that to consult them one had to do extensive travelling to libraries. The best-known manuscript was the 'Ambrosianus' (Milan, Ambrosian Library, B. 21. Inf.; Peshitta Institute siglum: 7a1), thanks to A.M. Ceriani's facsimile edition of 1876–83, but still not easily available to the private researcher. In practice a few published texts took a prominent place in research. First came the Paris Polyglot of 1645,

[2] P.A.H. de Boer, 'Towards an Edition of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament' (PIC 16), *VT* 31 (1981), 346–357 (p. 357).

in which the Syriac text (in Vol. 5) was edited by Gabriel Sionita. This text was passed on to the London Polyglot of 1657, in which the Peshitta text was edited by Herbert Thorndike (in Vol. 6). Later on three generally available editions became dominant, viz. one prepared by S. Lee for the British and Foreign Bible Society (London, 1823), another prepared by J. Perkins for the Presbyterian Mission in Persia (Urmia, 1852), the 'Urmia edition', and third the 'Mosul edition', prepared for the Dominicans in Mosul by C.J. David and G. Ebed-Jesus-Khayyat (Mosul, 1887–91).

These three editions were prepared and distributed for ecclesiastical and liturgical purposes and had no text-critical claims, but thanks to their availability, sometimes together with the Polyglots, they played a great role in research. Unfortunately, the text for the Paris Polyglot was taken from a manuscript which was easily available, viz. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Syr. 6 (Peshitta Institute siglum: 17a5), but also a very poor one, with the result that through the chain of text tradition (17a5 > Paris > London > Lee > Urmia and Mosul [both at least to a great extent]) this manuscript came to serve as a prominent witness of the Peshitta text. Some authors also made use of manuscripts, as notably W.E. Barnes, who used eighteen manuscripts in *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version* (Cambridge, 1897), twenty-six manuscripts in *The Peshitta Psalter according to the West Syrian Text, Edited with an Apparatus Criticus* (Cambridge, 1904) and sixteen manuscripts in *Pentateuchus Syriace post Samuelem Lee* (London, 1914),[3] and G. Diettrich, *Ein Apparatus zur Pešitto zum Propheten Jesaia* (Giessen, 1905), who used twenty-eight manuscripts.

The availability of a huge number of manuscripts in the form of microfilm/fiche now provided a solid scholarly basis for research in the Peshitta text and its history. On this new basis, earlier results with respect to some issues were confirmed. Some other issues were settled and laid to rest.

Apart from matters of detail, the main issues in previous research were the following. (1) The relation between the Peshitta and the Masoretic Text, and the ensuing text-critical importance of the Peshitta. In general this latter aspect served as the *raison d'être* of Peshitta research and the reason for Old Testament scholars for being interested in it, as became explicit in studies such as F. Baethgen, 'Der textkritische Werth der alten Übersetzungen zu den Psalmen',[4] and E. Baumann, 'Die

[3] For the manuscripts see his 'A New Edition of the Pentateuch in Syriac', *JThS* 15 (1914), 41–44.

[4] *JPTh* 8 (1882), 405–459, 593–667.

Verwendbarkeit der Pešita zum Buche Ijob für die Textkritik'.[5] Text-critical interest was also dominant with respect to the following issues: (2) the relations between the available manuscripts, in many cases the printed editions being included, as textual witnesses, and (3) the relation between the Peshitta on the one hand and the Septuagint and the Targums on the other hand.

With respect to (1), the appearance of the edition did not affect a recurring conclusion in previous literature that the Peshitta was based on a Hebrew text that, if not identical with the Masoretic Text, was at least very close to it, and that the translation was 'faithful', but not 'slavish'. This state of affairs was expressed by L. Haefeli, who wrote: 'Aber als Tatsache muss gelten dass die Übersetzungsvorlage der Peschitta der hebräische Text war, der nicht oder nur wenig vom heutigen massoretischen Text verschieden war', and: 'Alle, welche sich eingehender mit der Peschitta beschäftigt haben, bezeichnen sie ... als eine sorgfältige, gute, getreue, den Text sich anschliessende, nicht aber sklavisch wörtliche Übersetzung.'[6] This is echoed by Weitzman's remark: 'For the most part, it [the Peshitta – PBD] confirms MT: its earliest ancestry largely coincided with that of MT', and 'P can fairly be described as an idiomatic, though faithful translation, aiming at conveying the plain sense of the Hebrew.'[7]

The most direct change happened with respect to (2). The availability of a great many manuscripts put the printed editions in the background and prompted new research which centred around comparisons of these manuscripts with one another through a collation against 7a1, their place in the development of the Peshitta text, and their relative value as textual witnesses. The harbinger was J.A. Emerton's *The Peshitta of the Wisdom of Solomon*,[8] which appeared in the year the Peshitta Project made its start, and may to a great extent be regarded as a model for a number of other studies as those by Albrektson, Dirksen, and Koster.[9] Important in this respect are also the introductions to the volumes of the edition.

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[5] *ZAW* 18 (1898), 305–338; 19 (1899), 15–95; 20 (1900), 177–202, 264–307.

[6] *Die Peschitta des Alten Testamentes, mit Rücksicht auf ihre textkritische Bearbeitung und ihre Herausgabe* (ATA 11/1; Münster i.W., 1927), 7, 8.

[7] M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (UCOP 56; Cambridge, 1999), 61, 62.

[8] StPB 2; Leiden, 1959.

[9] B. Albrektson, *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations with a Critical Edition of the Peshitta Text* (STL 21; Lund, 1963); P.B. Dirksen, *The Transmission of the Text in the Peshitta Manuscripts of the Book of Judges* (MPIL 1; Leiden, 1972); M.D. Koster, *The Peshitta of Exodus. The Development of its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries* (SSN 19; Assen–Amsterdam, 1977).

The most important general conclusion of this research was that the oldest retrievable text is found in the manuscripts from before the eleventh century, and that the later manuscripts have no independent value. Since the older manuscripts were closer to the Masoretic Text than the younger ones, this meant that the text had moved away from conformity with the Masoretic Text. This was against the view that in some older manuscripts adaptation to the Masoretic Text had taken place. For 5b1 and 9a1 see below. For 7a1 this latter view had been defended by Cornill, who stated that because of this later adaptation 7a1 has no value as a textual witness and that the money spent on its facsimile edition had been 'thrown out of the window'.[10]

Among the oldest manuscripts there are a few, especially 5b1 (London, British Library, Add. 14425; the Genesis and Exodus part) and 9a1 (Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Orient. 58), which have come to the fore as preserving genuine readings in their exclusive agreements with the Masoretic Text. With respect to 5b1 this was a point of discussion as early as 1914, when Barnes argued that this manuscript had been adapted to the Masoretic text, whereas Pinkerton defended the authenticity of its readings.[11] The case now seems to be settled in favour of the latter view, mainly thanks to Koster, who fervently defended the case for 5b1 in his *Exodus* and in subsequent articles on the subject. The same holds good for 9a1, which, besides many younger readings, in a number of cases agrees exclusively with the Masoretic Text. This phenomenon was explained as adaptation to the Masoretic Text by Barnes, a plausible view according to Albrektson, who also suggested the possibility of this manuscript having been revised according to the Septuagint.[12] Diettrich defended the authenticity of these readings.[13] This latter view was strongly defended by Weitzman,[14] and now seems to be generally accepted. In short, the conclusion of recent research with respect to the development of the text is that the Syriac text tends to move away from the Masoretic Text, not towards it, and that agreement with the Masoretic Text can be considered a text-critical criterion.

Another question which the study of manuscript evidence has put to rest is that concerning a possible distinction between an eastern

[10] C.H. Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (Leipzig, 1886), 145.

[11] Barnes, 'A New Edition'; J. Pinkerton, 'The Origin and the Early History of the Syriac Pentateuch', *JThS* 15 (1914), 14–41.

[12] Barnes, *An Apparatus Criticus*, xxx; Albrektson, *Lamentations*, 28.

[13] Diettrich, *Jesaia*, xxx-xxxii.

[14] M.P. Weitzman, 'The Originality of Unique Readings in Peshiṭta MS 9a1', in P.B. Dirksen and M.J. Mulder (eds.), *The Peshiṭta: Its Early Text and History. Papers Read at the Peshiṭta Symposium held at Leiden 30–31 August 1985* (MPIL 4; Leiden, 1988), 225–258.

('Nestorian') and a western ('Jacobite') text, the latter sometimes being subdived into a 'Jacobite', a 'Melkite' and a 'Maronite' tradition. This distinction, as a major factor in text-critical decisions, was defended by Rahlfs in his influential article of 1898[15] and accepted among others by Haefeli and Eissfeldt.[16] In the Leiden Peshitta this division is made by H. Schneider, who divides the manuscripts of Odes into a 'Jacobite', a 'Nestorian', a 'Melkite' ('Melchite'), and a 'Maronite' tradition (Vol. 4.6 [1972], xv), and D.M. Walter, who in his Introduction to the Psalms (Vol. 2.3 [1980]) distinguishes between a western ('Jacobite' or 'Melkite') and a 'Nestorian' textual tradition. On the basis of manuscript evidence this view was rejected, for example, by Albrektson.[17] An exception is to be made to a very limited extent for the Psalms because of their role in the liturgy.[18] There are, of course, eastern and western manuscripts and families of manuscripts, but this depends on the location of copying centres. The importance of the provenance of manuscripts over confessional lines with respect to text traditions was stressed by Lane in various publications.[19]

With respect to (3), the relation to Septuagint and Targum, mention is to be made of the heated discussion in the past concerning a possible targumic origin of the Peshitta with subsequent adaptation to the Masoretic Text, especially with respect to the Pentateuch. Connected with this theory are prominent names as Kahle, Baumstark and Vööbus. Opponents of this theory were scholars such as Koster (*Exodus* and later articles) and Weitzman (*The Syriac Version*).[20] The rejection of this theory is related to the above-mentioned view that the text of the Peshitta moved away from the Masoretic text, not towards it. The outcome of the discussion seems to be a vindication of the seminal

[15] A. Rahlfs, 'Beiträge zur Textkritik der Peschita', *ZAW* 9 (1889), 161–210.

[16] Haefeli, Die *Peschitta*, 115–116; O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (3rd ed.; Tübingen, 1964), 950.

[17] *Lamentations*, 23.

[18] See P.B. Dirksen, 'East and West, Old and Young, in the Text Tradition of the Old Testament Peshitta' (PIC 19), *VT* 35 (1985), 468–484.

[19] D.J. Lane, '"Lilies that Fester . . .": The Peshitta Text of Qoheleth' (PIC 15), *VT* 29 (1979), 480–489, and '"A Turtle Dove or Two Young Priests" – A Note on the Peshiṭta Text of Leviticus', in *Symposium Syriacum 1976* (OCA 205; Rome, 1978), 125–130; cf. his *The Peshiṭta of Leviticus* (MPIL 6; Leiden etc., 1994, 158–162, and '"The Best Words in the Best Order": Some Comments on the "Syriacing" of Leviticus', *VT* 39 (1989), 468–479 (470–471).

[20] For a survey of the discussion see P.B. Dirksen, 'The Old Testament Peshitta', in M.J. Mulder and H. Sysling (eds.), *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (CRI 2.1; Assen etc., 1988).

study of Perles, who explained echoes of the Targum tradition in the Pentateuch as the influence of Jewish exegetical traditions.[21]

The insights gained from the study of the manuscripts also affected the Peshitta edition with respect to both the critical apparatus and the text. Originally the Peshitta Project tended towards a registration as full as possible of the complete textual material. We read in the General Preface, included in the Sample Edition of 1966 and reprinted with minor changes as a separate issue in 1972 (pp. v–vi): 'The object of our undertaking is to present as clearly and completely as is possible within reasonable limits of space the evidence from a more or less representative array of manuscripts such as will illustrate the tradition of the Peshiṭta text.' Consequently, the first volume to be published (4.6, Apocrypha; 1972) covers manuscripts of up to and including the 19th century. In retrospect De Boer wrote in Vol. 1.1 (Genesis, Exodus; 1977), Preface, p. vi: 'The work grew into a compendium providing a complete record of all manuscripts.' A few lines further on he makes clear that a change was inevitable:

> During the editorial work on the books of Kings it became clear which manuscripts need to be included in the records of variant readings and which do not (...) Variant readings found only in younger manuscripts appear to be of little value for exegetical and textual studies.

These 'younger manuscripts' are more precisely defined as 'younger than the twelfth century' in De Boer's article of 1981.[22] A few lines earlier (in Preface) he wrote: 'It became clear that we were trying to combine two aims: the edition, and the history of the transmission of the manuscripts.' In the third volume (2.4, Kings; 1976) the post twelfth-century manuscripts are mentioned only in so far as they support the reading of one or more ancient manuscripts, readings occurring only in one or more of these later manuscripts being relegated to the Introduction (p. ii). Beginning with the fourth volume (1.1, Genesis, Exodus; 1977) what is left of these manuscripts in the Introduction is a pure listing, and in the apparatus either the abbreviation *fam* (= family) or an arrow to indicate that the reading mentioned is found also in one or more of these manuscripts.[23] This change in editorial policy was the right thing to do in view of what was then known about the development of the Syriac text. Yet, it was hard on book editors who suddenly saw the results of their painstaking collations reduced to a number of anonymous arrows or *fam*'s.

[21] J. Perles, *Meletemata Peschitthoniana* (Breslau, 1859).

[22] 'Towards an Edition', 356.

[23] See the Preface of this fascicle, which is actually a revised version of the General Preface, p. xi. For the inclusion of the 11th and 12th century manuscripts see below.

With respect to the text to be printed, from the very beginning the obvious choice for the basic text was the Ambrosianus (7a1): It contains the whole Old Testament, was readily available in the form of Ceriani 's facsimile edition, and is in a good state of preservation. The General Preface does not speak of a diplomatic edition, but it does say that 'The basic text(s) chosen for this edition have been reproduced as faithfully as possible' (p. vi). 7a1 was to be printed 'unchanged, except for the correction of obvious clerical errors that do not make sense' (p. viii). Beginning with the third volume (2.4, Kings; 1976) there is a move away from a diplomatic text in the direction of a majority text: apart from cases of an obvious clerical error, the text of 7a1 is also emended if it is not supported by at least two other manuscripts of up to and including the tenth century (Vol. 2.4, vi; Vol. 1.1, Preface, viii). In retrospect it became clear, however, that whatever practical reasons there were for the choice of 7a1, this manuscript could certainly not lay claim to its being an authoritative text. The manuscript has quite a number of errors and questionable unique readings. On the basis of the quality of the text 8a1 (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Syr. 341; earlier than 8th cent.?) might well lay claim to pride of place. Lane defends 7a1 as the obvious choice, but also brings to light its defects.[24] This is an extra reason to take note of De Boer's remark in the Preface to Vol. 1.1, viii, that

> The text printed in this edition—it must be stated *expressis verbis*—ought to be used in exegetical and textual study together with the apparatuses.

There is a discrepancy in that for the text manuscripts up to and including the tenth century are taken into account, while for the apparatus manuscripts up to and including the twelfth century are used (see above). With the latter choice, however, the readings of the well-known Buchanan Bible (Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Oo.I.1,2; Peshitta Institute siglum: 12a1) are preserved. This manuscript has had a profound influence on later manuscripts, and is now hardly accessible because of its poor state of preservation.

Since the start of the Peshitta Project three successive topics can be discerned in the study of the Peshitta. The first concerned the textual development and was prompted by the newly available manuscripts (see above). After some time this research had run its course: dependencies between manuscripts had been established, families had been identified, and the general lines of textual development had been worked out; there seemed to be little left to argue about. Attention then shifted

[24] *Leviticus*, Chapter 1: '7a1: A Median Text', (pp. 1–32).

to the relation between the Peshitta and its Hebrew *Vorlage*, i.e., the Peshitta's translation technique, including possible influence from Septuagint, Targum, and exegetical traditions. Of course, this research was not new. In many previous studies a comparison of the Syriac with the Hebrew text had been made, as well as with Septuagint and Targum. But apart from being based on a more solid textual foundation, the newer studies were more comprehensive and systematic. Examples are the monographs by Gelston, Morrison, and Greenberg.[25] In between the latter two came Williams' study on the Peshitta of 1 Kings,[26] which, though more linguistically oriented, also witnesses to the trend to study the Peshitta as a work in its own right. Of the fact that these two topics, textual development and translation technique, are at least to some extent interconnected, we are reminded by Koster in his article 'Translation or Transmission' in which he cautions that what is supposed to be the result of translation technique may in fact belong and in some cases can be demonstrated to belong to the stage of transmission.[27] The same point had been made earlier by Ter Haar Romeny, though more specifically in connection with manuscript 5b1.[28]

Also this second type of study seems now to be past its zenith. Thanks to these studies, the general character of the Peshitta as a translation now seems to be reasonably clear, their general tenor agreeing basically with the results of earlier research (see above). This led the editorial board of the Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden to agree that to be included in the series any future studies of the Peshitta as a translation should present new aspects or other distinctive traits.

It seems that now the third topic is gaining ground: to study the Peshitta in its historical, ecclesiastical, and liturgical context. Already in the early stage of Peshitta research it was recognized that Syriac patristic texts were of interest for the study of the textual history of the Peshitta.

[25] A. Gelston, *The Peshiṭta of the Twelve Prophets* (Oxford, 1987); C.E. Morrison, *The Character of the Syriac Version of the First Book of Samuel* (MPIL 11; Leiden etc., 2001); G. Greenberg, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Jeremiah* (MPIL 13; Leiden etc., 2002).

[26] P.J. Williams, *Studies in the Syntax of the Peshitta of 1 Kings* (MPIL 12; Leiden etc., 2001).

[27] M.D. Koster, '"Translation or Transmission? That is the Question". The Use of the Leiden O.T. Peshitta Edition', in M. Augustin and H.M. Niemann (eds.), '*Basel und Bibel*'. *Collected Communications to the XVIIth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Basel 2001* (Frankfurt a/M etc., 2004), 297–312.

[28] R.B. ter Haar Romeny, 'Techniques of Translation and Transmission in the Earliest Text Form of the Syriac Version of Genesis', in P.B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij (eds.), *The Peshitta as a Translation. Papers read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19–21 August 1993* (MPIL 8; Leiden etc., 1995), 177–185.

As early as 1787 G.W. Kirsch included in his *Pentateuchus Syriace ex Polyglottis Anglicanis* an appendix 'Variantes lectiones ex Ephraemi Syri Commentariis'.[29] A number of later studies included readings from the Syriac patres, prominently Aphrahat and Ephraim. The lack of reliable editions, however, prevented them from being included in the Leiden Peshitta (Preface in 1.1, vii). A major contribution in filling this gap was R.J. Owens' monograph *The Genesis and Exodus Citations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage*.[30]

During the last years this interest in the Syriac patres has been intensified, not just because of its relevance for textual criticism but for the sake of the Peshitta in its historical and cultural context in its own right.[31] The interest shifted to the Peshitta as a witness to the exegesis of the Bible, its role in the liturgy, and in general the way it is used and assessed in Syriac literature. An early example of this new trend was K.D. Jenner's article 'Some Introductory Remarks concerning the Study of 8a1', in which he treated the history of manuscript 8a1, which interestingly underwent a clearly distinguishable revision, in the wider context of Christian-Muslim relations.[32] Also his dissertation merits mention in this respect: *De Perikopentitels van de geïllustreerde Syrische kanselbijbel van Parijs* (Leiden, 1993).

From its beginning, the Peshitta Institute had focused on the Peshitta of the Old Testament. With the broadening of the focus the New Testament Peshitta, as well as other versions (prominently the Syro-Hexapla) also came into sight.[33] Indicative of this new trend is the subtitle of the Monograph Series, with which the main title is provided beginning in MPIL 11 (2001): Studies in the Syriac Versions (plural!) of the Bible (!) and their Cultural Contexts. It also found expression in the titles of two recent monographs: Richard J. Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript of Jacob of Edessa. A Study in Its Underlying Textual Traditions* (MPIL 9; Leiden etc., 1998), and A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa* (MPIL 10; Leiden etc., 1999).

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[29] Leipzig; 96–97. See further P.B. Dirksen, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Peshiṭta of the Old Testament* (MPIL 5; Leiden etc.,1989), 96–97.

[30] MPIL 3; Leiden, 1983.

[31] D.J. Lane, *Leviticus*, xii: '. . . the importance of the Peshiṭta lies less with textual criticism and more with church history and the use of the text as scripture: popular religion, liturgy and homiletics influenced both translators and scribes in such a way as to shape the version's character and transmission.'

[32] P.B. Dirksen and M.J. Mulder (eds.), *The Peshiṭta*, 200–224.

[33] It should be added, though, that the Syro-Hexapla has always been a matter of interest to the Peshitta Institute. As early as 1968, W. Baars published his dissertation *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts* (Leiden).

This development is well illustrated in the themes of the three Peshitta Symposia and, subsequently, in the titles of the collections of the papers read. The first Symposium was held in August 1985, the participants having been personally invited as Old Testament Peshitta specialists. Its theme was *The Peshiṭta: Its Early Text and History* (MPIL 4; Leiden etc., 1988). The second took place in 1993, for invited specialists as well, its theme being *The Peshitta as a Translation* (MPIL 8; Leiden etc., 1995). The third, with its much wider focus, and open for interested scholars, had as its theme *The Peshitta: Its Use in Literature and Liturgy* (MPIL; forthcoming), which was unfolded in papers as 'The Psalm Headings in the West Syrian Tradition and the Psalm Commentary of Daniel of Salah' (D. Taylor); 'The Reception of the Peshitta Psalter in Bar Salibi's Commentary on the Psalms' (S. Ryan); 'The Reception of Peshitta Chronicles: Some Elements for Investigation' (D. Phillips); 'Peshitta New Testament Quotations in the West Syrian Anaphoras' (B. Varghese); 'Leaven of Purity and Holiness: The Peshitta of 1 Corinthians 5:8 and Christian Self-Definition' (E. Papoutsakis).

An approach which goes beyond existing and familiar frameworks is made possible by computer technology. During the past years the Free University at Amsterdam has been developing computer programs for linguistic research of the Hebrew Bible. The expertise built up during these years has found a new application in a joint project of the Free University and the Peshitta Institute, called Computer Assisted Linguistic Analysis of the Peshitta (CALAP). The aim of this project is to study the relation between the Hebrew and Syriac language systems, their idiomatic and syntactical peculiarities, and the relation between them, and thus to obtain a more precise understanding of the translation technique of the Peshitta. In April 2003 a seminar on this project was held by the Peshitta Institute, and research workers are now applying the programs to the books of Kings and Ben Sira as a pilot study.[34]

Mention may be made also of a new project, to translate the Peshitta into English.[35] A seminar about this project was held during the XVIIIth IOSOT Congress, 1–6 August 2004, in Leiden, under the title 'The Bible of Edessa'.

[34] Cf. P.S.F. van Keulen and W.Th. van Peursen (eds.), *Corpus Linguistics and Textual History. A Computer-Assisted Interdisciplinary Approach to the Peshitta* (forthcoming in the series SSN). Part I contains the contributions to the CALAP seminar; Part II contains seven contributions in which the different aspects of the CALAP analysis are applied to a sample passage, viz. 1 Kgs 2:1–9.

[35] See K.D. Jenner, et al., 'The New English Annotated Translation of the Syriac Bible (NEATSB): Retrospect and Prospect' (PIC 23), *AS* 2 (2000), 85–106.

Attendance at the third Peshitta Symposium in 2001—over fifty participants—was an indication of a growing interest in Peshitta research. The new Peshitta edition has certainly been an important factor in it, both in the interest it raised in the preparation of its parts, and in the possibilities it has created for new research. In a few years' time the edition will be completed, but as will be clear from the foregoing, that will not be the end of the Peshitta Institute. Other projects, ongoing ones and perhaps future ones, will keep it going. With respect to the ongoing ones, the name of Konrad Jenner is connected with them. If not in the foreground, then certainly in the background, he was behind the Institute's functioning as a stimulating centre for Peshitta research. For that the Institute owes him a debt of gratitude.

OF WORDS AND PHRASES: SYRIAC VERSIONS OF 2 KINGS 24:14

*Janet Dyk & Percy van Keulen**

1. *Introduction*

According to MT 2 Kgs 24:14, Nebuchadnezar 'exiled all of Jerusalem: all the officers and all the warriors, ten thousand exiles, and each craftsman and smith.' The phrase to which we would like to draw attention is in Hebrew as follows:

MT וכל חחרש והמסגר

wkl	hḥrš	whmsgr
and-all	*the-craftsman*	*and-the-smith*

'and each craftsman and smith'

The most ancient witnesses of the Peshitta text of this verse exhibit minor variations:

BTR ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܣܦ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܪܗܛ̈ܐ

wklhwn	dḥšʾ (*pl.*)	wklhwn	rḥṭʾ (*pl.*)
and-all-them	*guardsmen*	*and-all-them*	*couriers*

'and all the guardsmen and all the couriers'

9a1 ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܣܦ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܪܗܛ̈ܐ

wklhwn	dḥšʾ (*pl.*)	rḥṭʾ (*pl.*)
and-all-them	*guardsmen*	*couriers*

'and all the guardsmen, couriers'

In comparison to the text of MT, the second 'all' attested by the MSS belonging to the BTR group is to be marked as a plus. MS 9a1, on the other hand, shows a minus, for it does not represent the conjunction 'and' preceding המסגר 'the smith' of MT.

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In this article the following abbreviations are used: MS(S) = manuscript(s); MT = Massoretic Text; LXX^{A,B} = Septuaginta codex Alexandrinus, codex Vaticanus; Ant = Antiochene text of the Septuaginta (formerly 'Lucianic recension'); TJ = Targum Jonathan; Vg = Vulgata; BTR = Basic text/*textus receptus*; P = Peshitta (BTR + 9a1); Syh = Syro-Hexapla.

Common to the early Peshitta MSS is that they deviate from MT in reading plural nouns instead of singular ones. The plural is not only indicated by the *seyame*—which might be considered to be a secondary addition—but also by the plural suffix in ܟܠܗܘܢ 'all-them'. Though not of text-critical significance, this suffix in itself is a formal plus in comparison to the Hebrew text. Furthermore, the Peshitta MSS agree in reading nouns which deviate considerably from the semantic field of their MT counterparts.

These variations in P are the more remarkable when one considers that the other ancient translations show close formal correspondence to MT:

LXX^{B,A}	καὶ πᾶν τέκτονα καὶ τὸν συγκλείοντα
	'and each artisan and the locksmith'
Ant	καὶ πάντα τέκτονα καὶ τὸν συγκλείοντα
	'and each artisan and the locksmith'
TJ	וכל אומניא ותרעיא
	'and all artisans and locksmiths'
Vg	*et omnem artificem et clusorem*
	'and each artisan and locksmith'
Syh	ܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܓܪܐ ܘܟܠ
	'and each carpenter and locksmith'

The agreement of the ancient versions and MT in this choice of words over against both 9a1 and BTR renders it unlikely that the readings attested by the latter manuscripts are due to a Hebrew exemplar different from MT or to the influence of some other ancient translation. With regard to the variation among the Syriac versions, both forms may represent inner-Syriac developments, or one deviation could have already been a feature of the original Peshitta. The deviations from MT that are shared by all ancient Peshitta MSS probably go back to the original translation—at least, as far as the evidence can tell us.

In this contribution we will examine the forementioned variations, exploring the possible motivations behind them. In this we leave aside the difference between the singular and plural nouns mentioned above.[1]

2. *Choice of Words*

In the Peshitta ܪܓܫܐ [dḥš' (*pl.*)] 'guardsmen' and ܪܗܛܐ [rḥṭ' (*pl.*)] 'couriers' parallel the collectively used terms חרש [ḥrš] 'craftsman' and

[1] Where MT uses singular nouns to denote a group as a collective, the early Peshitta MSS seem to have rendered these as plural nouns.

מסגר [msgr] 'smith'[2] of MT. The Syriac terms denote military functions whereas the corresponding Hebrew terms refer to some sort of artisans. All other versions concur with MT in referring to craftsmen. What could lie behind this deviance from the semantic field of the Hebrew terms?

One approach would be to consider the first terms, where we see חרש [ḥrš] rendered as ܕܫܫ [dḥš' (*pl.*)]. It is commonly known that in Semitic languages metathesis is well attested.[3] Furthermore, in comparing Hebrew and Syriac material, the interchange of the [d] and the [r] is frequently encountered. These two letters not only resemble one another in the two scripts—ד [d] and ר [r] in Hebrew, ܕ [d] and ܪ [r] in Syriac—but could also have been articulated in a similar fashion.[4] Thus, the possibility should not be disregarded that the two might have approximated one another in pronunciation, perhaps even as a voiced coronal alveolar plosive [d] versus a voiced coronal alveolar flap [r]. Could it be that when rendering the first term a number of phonetic, acoustic, or transcriptional factors played a role so that 'craftsman' was rendered 'guardsmen', not so much as a translation but as a word sounding similar, thus preserving aspects of the Hebrew word image? Once having chosen this word, the second term could have been supplied from within the same field of meaning.

A different explanation of the choice of words is offered by Donald Walter:

> The substitution of military for commercial classes is probably motivated by 24:16a where the והמסגר והחרש, are listed in an enumeration of military forces.

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[2] The Greek συγκλείων 'one who locks up' is a literal rendering of מסגר 'smith', construed as a participle of סגר Hiphil 'to shut up, confine'. The renderings of Vg and TJ, *clusor* and תרעיא, respectively, reflect a similar understanding of the Hebrew. Whether the versions are correct in connecting מסגר with סגר may be questioned, however (see J.A. Montgomery and H.S. Gehman, *The Books of Kings* [ICC; Edinburgh, 1951], 542; O. Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige* [Leipzig, 1849], 451). In MT מסגר occurs seven times. Four times it forms part of the expression והמסגר החרש, i.e., in 2 Kgs 24:14, 16; Jer 24:1, 29:2. For the latter instances of מסגר, L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner (*Lexicon in veteris testamenti libros* [Leiden, 1958], 541a, henceforth *KBL*) give as a meaning: 'builder of bulwarks and trenches', adding an honest question mark between brackets, while in their *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 2 (Leiden, 1974), 571b (henceforth *HAL*) they give 'Metalarbeiter, Schlosser'. A homograph (cf. *KBL*, 540b, *HAL*, 571b), or perhaps another meaning of the same word (cf. F. Brown, S.R. Driver and C.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* [Oxford, 1975], 689b), is 'dungeon' (in Isa 24:22; 42:7; Ps 142:8).

[3] Cf. E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (OLA 80; Leuven, 1997), 192–193.

[4] Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 132–133, presents evidence for the dental basis of articulation of the [r], [l], and [n], stating as well that 'variations in ancient and modern articulations of *r* have no phonemic value'.

> [...] P presumably assigned המסגר[ו] the meaning of 'those who shut up', therefore 'guards', and accordingly identified המסגר[ו] with the well-known military corps, the רצים ('the runners'; apparently the royal bodyguard in 1 Sam 22:17; 1 Kgs 14:27,28,28 = 2 Chr 12:10,11,11; 2 Kgs 10:25,25; 11:4,6,11,19,19) which P renders with ܪܲܦܣ̈ܝ.[5]

Walter's explanation of ܪܲܦܣ̈ܝ is attractive because it brings the Peshitta in line with the other ancient translations which all provide renderings based on an analysis of המסגר 'the smith' as participle of סגר 'to close'.

It is of interest to note that Walter's explanation takes as point of departure ܪܲܦܣ̈ܝ 'couriers'. It does not specify why P opted for ܪܲܫ̈ܥܐ 'guardsmen' but seems to assume that ܪܲܦܣ̈ܝ 'couriers' was simply chosen as a suitable parallel to ܪܲܫ̈ܥܐ 'guardsmen'. The first explanation mentioned above focuses rather on ܪܲܫ̈ܥܐ 'guardsmen', and views the choice of ܪܲܦܣ̈ܝ 'couriers', as a rendering of המסגר 'the smith', as being dependent on the first choice. Thus, the two explanations are not mutually exclusive, but supplement one another: while the rendering of המסגר 'the smith' with ܪܲܦܣ̈ܝ 'couriers' is seen as being motivated by v. 16a, the choice of ܪܲܫ̈ܥܐ could be seen as being motivated by a desire to preserve as much of the Hebrew word image as possible.

3. *Phrase Structure*

Ambiguity in the Interpretation of the Phrase Structure

The syntactic differences between the three versions of this phrase might at first sight appear to be unmotivated and arbitrary. 9a1, with merely a single coordinate conjunction lacking, appears on the surface to be much closer to the Hebrew than is BTR with its additional ܟܠ 'all' plus pronominal suffix. Syntactic analyses of the phrase structures involved make the differences and similarities between these phrases more explicit.

Leaving the initial coordinate conjunction aside, since it functions as a connective to the rest of the passage which lies beyond our field of interest in this article, a tree diagram of the Hebrew phrase can help to bring out the governing relationships present. A few explanatory notes on the notation used:

P in final position indicates the complete phrase level. The various hierarchical levels within a phrase are indicated by superscripts: X″ and X′ (X = any type of phrase). The type of phrase is determined by the part of speech of the head of the phrase as follows:

[5] D.M. Walter, *The Peshitta of II Kings* (unpublished dissertation; Princeton University, 1964), 228.

NP = noun phrase (N = noun)
PP = prepositional phrase (P = preposition)
CjXP = conjunction phrase (Cj = conjunction)

A phrase contains a head and possibly expansions, either obligatory or optional. In the following, a number of rewrite rules have been used. First, it is assumed that phrases can contain an element which specifies the phrase as a whole, such as a phrase with a definite article. Phrases, therefore, can be rewritten as follows:

$$XP \rightarrow Spec\ X''$$

Second, the head of the phrase can be expanded by non-obligatory elements, such as apposition or attribution within noun phrases:

$$X'' \rightarrow X'\ YP\ (Y = \text{any type of phrase})$$

Finally, the head of a phrase could be expanded by obligatory elements, without which an ungrammatical construction would result. An example of this in Hebrew is the construct state binding, in which a governing noun requires the governed noun to make a grammatically well-formed construction:

$$X' \rightarrow X\ YP$$

As somewhat of an exception to this hierarchy of rules, in the coordinated phrase, here called CjXP, phrases are taken to function as syntactically parallel to one another with a connecting conjunction between them:

$$CjXP \rightarrow XP\ Cj\ XP\ (Cj\ XP)^{n}$$

Asyndetically joined phrases could be analysed as a variation of the CjXP with an empty [∅] Cj; in that case the phrases are taken as not being appositional to one another.

The head of a phrase is the element without extensions (N, P, etc.). When levels within a phrase are empty, these will not be drawn in the diagram, but can be assumed to be present.

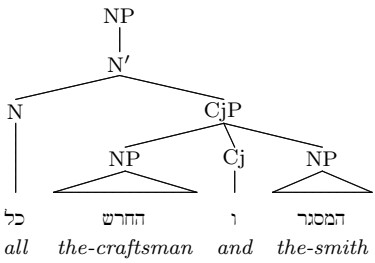
For the variations found for the phrase in 2 Kgs 24:14, the crux lies in the interpretation of the extent of government of כל 'all'. Gesenius lists a number of cases where the scope of government of a construct state form in Hebrew should be taken to extend over an intervening coordinate conjunction:[6]

[6] W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley (*Hebrew Grammar* [2nd ed.; Oxford, 1910], § 128*a* [414]) list: Gen 14:19; Num 20:5; 38:54; 1 Sam 23:7; 2 Sam 19:6; Isa

Gen 14:19 'possessor of *heaven and earth*'
Num 20:5 'a place of *seed, and figs, and vines, and pomegranates*'
2 Sam 19:6 'the soul of *your sons and your daughters*'
Isa 22:5 'a day of *discomfiture, and down-treading and confusion*'

Read in this manner, in the phrase in 2 Kgs 24:14, כל 'all' in construct state would govern both coordinated determined nouns, 'the craftsman and the smith':

MT כל החרש והמסגר



'each craftsman and smith'

Gesenius–Kautzsch view the government of a construct state as extending over a conjunction as somewhat of an exception to the rule:[7]

> The language also prefers to avoid a series of several co-ordinate genitives depending upon one and the same nomen regens ... and rather tends to repeat the nomen regens, e.g. Gn 24^{3} ... *the God of heaven and the God of the earth* (so in Jer 8^{1} the regens is five times repeated).

On the contrary, according to Joüon–Muraoka:[8]

> ... a *nomen regens* can refer to several juxtaposed genitives; ... it is not necessary to repeat the *nomen regens* before each genitive. Its repetition or non-repetition depends on the meaning, the style and also the usage of each period.

We would like to note that in the example Jer 8:1, cited by both Gesenius–Kautzsch and Joüon–Muraoka as a case where the governing noun is repeated five times, the phrases involved are themselves complex in structure, and were the governing noun not to be repeated, syntactically 'wrong' connections would result.

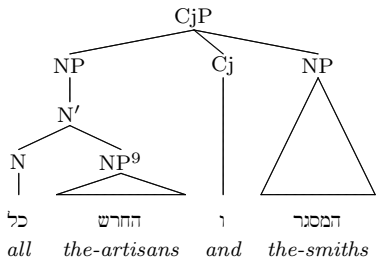
22:5; Ps 5:7; 8:1; 1 Chr 13:1; P. Joüon and T. Muraoka (*A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* [SubBi 14/1,2; Rome, 1996] 2, § 129*b* [465]) list additionally Isa 1:1; 1 Chr 18:10; 2 Chr 24:14; Dan 8:20. Without pretending to be exhaustive, we would like to add to the list from the texts we have been working on: 1 Kgs 7:5; 12:23; 16:13; 2 Kgs 23:1, 22; 24:13, 16; 25:26. Some of these cases will be discussed below.

[7] Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammar*, § 128*a* (414).

[8] Joüon–Muraoka, *Grammar*, 2, § 129*b* (465).

If the phrase in 2 Kgs 24:14 is to be read without having the governing scope of כל 'all' extend over the coordinate conjunction, then it would govern only the first noun and a new parallel phrase would be introduced by the coordinate conjunction. The syntactic relationship can be depicted thus:

MT כל החרש והמסגר

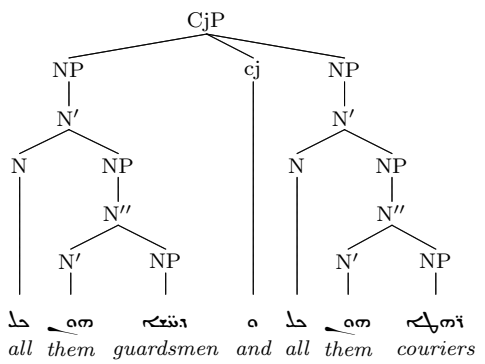


'all the artisans, and the smiths'

where 'all' is to be read as pertaining only to 'the artisans', and 'all the artisans' as a whole is parallel to 'the smiths'.

We turn now to the two Syriac versions, beginning with BTR:

BTR ܟܠܗܝ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܟܠ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܦܪܝܫ̈ܐ



'all of them, [i.e.] guardsmen, and all of them, [i.e.] couriers'

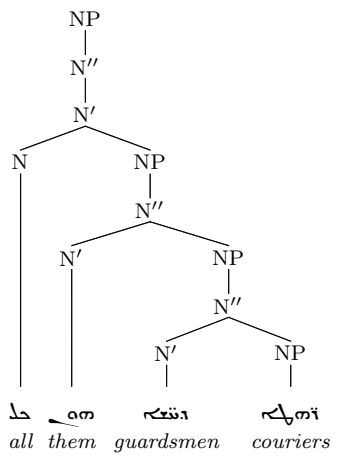
[9] A NP with determination can be analysed as a Determiner Phrase (DP). For the DP as a separate construction, see J.W. Dyk, 'Who Shepherds Whom?', in M. Gosker et al. (eds.), *Een boek heeft een rug: studies voor Ferenc Postma op het grensgebied van theologie, bibliofilie en universiteitsgeschiedenis ter gelegenheid van zijn vijftigste verjaardag* (Zoetermeer, 1995), 166–172.

Here ܟܠ ‘all’ governs the 3mp suffix ‘them’. In the depicted structure, the personal suffixes are treated syntactically as full NPs. The relationship to the following element is not by means of construct state government; rather, the following element is a grammatically non-obligatory extension of the phrase, giving further specification to the suffix. The first suffix is expanded by the phrase ‘guardsmen’; the whole phrase is then repeated after the coordinating conjunction and expanded by the phrase ‘couriers’.[10]

In the BTR phrase, the government of ܟܠ ‘all’ by means of construct state is terminated by the suffix, while in MT כל ‘all’ can be read as governing a coordinated phrase. The suffix is further specified in Syriac by means of an extension, but in order to add another element which is to fall under the government of ܟܠ, the construction has been repeated, adding a second ܟܠ ‘all’ with its accompanying pronominal suffix. The difference structurally is that in MT the coordinated phrase falls under the syntactic government of ‘all’, while in BTR the two NPs are joined together to form a coordinated phrase in which ‘all’ appears twice as governing each of the NPs separately. In this manner BTR makes clear that it understood the sense of MT as meaning that *all* the members of both groups were involved.

In the phrase in 9a1, the following structure appears to be present:

9a1 ܟܠܗܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܦܪܫܐ



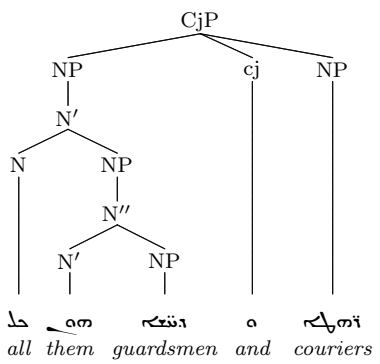
‘all of them, [i.e.] guardsmen, [i.e.] couriers’

[10] Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (tr. J.A. Crichton; London, 1904), § 218 (172): ‘Very often a substantive has ܟܠ in apposition with it, and placed

The surface text in this version appears to resemble MT closely, while structurally it diverges significantly from the Hebrew. By omitting a single letter (which as a single syllable is a word, the coordinate conjunction, 'and'), 9a1 managed to place the final NP under the government of the first (and only) 'all', thus on the surface remaining close to MT.[11] But since in Syriac the range of the syntactic government of the construct state is terminated by the personal suffix, the final NP does not fall directly under 'all' but is constructed as appositional to the NP preceding it, 'guardsmen', which in turn is appositional to the suffix governed by 'all' in construct state. By doing so, 'guardsmen' and 'courier' become appositional, no longer two different groups which were taken into exile in their entirety, but a single group, specified twice.

If a Syriac manuscript were to follow the Hebrew even more closely and add the coordinate conjunction without repeating 'all of them', the following structure would be the result:

* ܟܠܗܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܡܠܟ



'all of them, [i.e.] guardsmen, and couriers'

Only if in Syriac a pronominal suffix could be shown to be specified by NPs joined by a coordinate conjunction, can the second noun be taken as falling under the syntactic government of 'all'. The difference between this hypothetical version and MT is the pronominal suffix attached to ܟܠ

either before or after it, and furnished with a pronominal suffix of its own, referring to the substantive.' The examples Nöldeke gives do not include the case of the pronominal suffix referring to more than one substantive.

[11] The suggestion that the two NPs are to be read as asyndetically joined phrases would seem improbable, cf. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, § 332 (268): 'Two nouns are strung together by means of ܘ or ܐܦ. If there are more members than two, the conjunction need only appear before the last of them . . .'

'all'. This suffix halts the extent of the government of the construct state and the phrase can only be continued by non-construct state extensions.

This resembles the second diagram of the Hebrew given above in which the scope of the government of a construct state is taken to be restricted, not extending over the coordinate conjunction. The Septuagint apparently has understood the text in this manner:

LXX^{B,A}	καὶ πᾶν τέκτονα καὶ τὸν συγκλείοντα
Ant	καὶ πάντα τέκτονα καὶ τὸν συγκλείοντα[12]

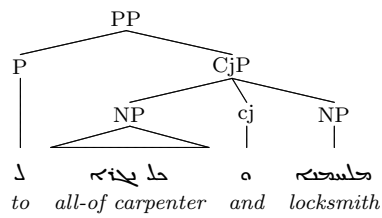
The Syro-Hexapla reflects the same interpretation:

Syh ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܢܓܪܐ ܘܢܚܫܐ
to all-of carpenter and locksmith
'to each carpenter, and locksmith'

According to Nöldeke:[13]

> The Construct State must stand *immediately* before the Genitive. ... The separation of the Genitive from the governing word presents no difficulty, however, when ܕ is employed.

Muraoka substantiates this position.[14] Thus, although the phrase in Syh resembles MT closely, the more limited scope of construct state government in Syriac results in a choice for but one of the syntactic possibilities present in the Hebrew phrase:



'to each carpenter, and locksmith'

Related Syntactic Constructions in Hebrew and their Interpretations in Syriac

It is instructive to consider a number of instances with comparable syntax.[15] Attention will first be given to structures which in Syriac

[12] The Greek πάντα τέκτονα 'every artisan' is an adequate rendering of the construct state כל החרש, which necessarily leaves the article of the Hebrew unrepresented. The fact that συγκλείοντα is preceded by an article (rather than by a second πάντα) indicates that that noun is not governed by πάντα.

[13] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, § 208, A, B (165).

[14] T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac. A Basic Grammar with a Chrestomathy* (Wiesbaden, 1997), § 73 (61, 62).

contain a pronominal suffix attached to 'all'. Thereafter we look at cases without the pronominal suffix.

Syriac Structures with a Pronominal Suffix Attached to 'All'
The less ambiguous coordinated structures are those where the number and gender of the pronominal suffix on 'all' in P clearly delimits the scope of its government, or cases where a preposition or 'all' is repeated so that the phrase boundaries are clear, as in:[16]

1 Kgs 6:38

MT לכל דברו ולכל משפטו
to-all-of words-his and-to-all prescriptions-his
'to all his words and to all his prescriptions'

P ܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܥܒܕ ܘܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܕܝܢܘܗܝ
in-all-them(FPL) *matter*(FPL)*-his and-in-all-them*(MPL) *works*(MPL)*-his*
'in all his matters and in all his works'

In 1 Kgs 10:29 two coordinated prepositional phrases in MT are rendered by two coordinated noun phrases in P. The first of these in both cases contains 'all'. In the MT the repeated preposition clearly cuts off the governing scope of כל in construct state. In keeping with the more restricted scope of ܟܠ + pronominal suffix, it seems reasonable to assume that in the rendering in P, which is not constructed with prepositions, a new phrase is initiated after the conjunction:[17]

1 Kgs 10:29

MT לכל מלכי חתים ולמלכי ארם
to-all-of kings-of the-Hittites and-to-kings-of Aram
'to all the kings of the Hittites and to the kings of Aram'

P ܟܠܗܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܚܬܝܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܕܘܡ
all-them kings of-Hittites and-kings of-Edom
'all the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of Edom'

[15] Though P.J. Williams (*Studies in the Syntax of the Peshitta of 1 Kings* [MPIL 12; Leiden, 2001]) devotes Chapter Two to a treatment of 'The Genitive', and Chapter Three to a treatment of 'All', the particular problem of the ambiguity of the scope of construct state government in compound phrases is not addressed.

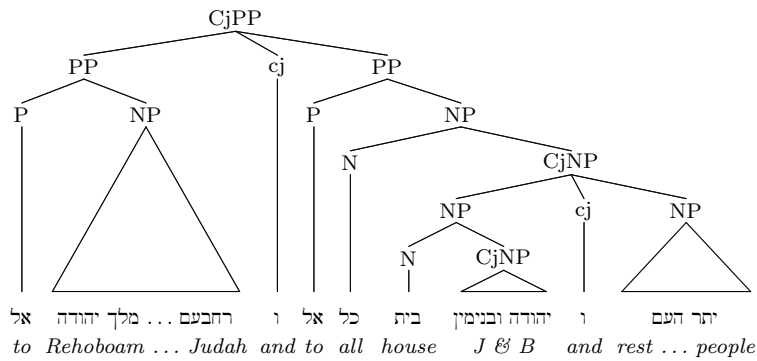
[16] Cf. also 1 Kgs 1:9, 19, 25; 2:4; 5:4; 8:23, 48, 50; 10:21; 14:23; 15:23; 16:7, 26; 18:5; 19:1, 18; 20:8, 15; 2 Kgs 3:19; 8:6; 10:11, 19; 14:14; 15:16; 16:15; 17:13; 20:13, 20; 21:8; 22:13; 23:2, 3, 25; 24:14; 25:9.

[17] Cf. also 1 Kgs 12:21.

In comparison to MT, P sometimes adds an extra noun or preposition which then limits the governing scope of a noun in construct state. In 1 Kgs 12:23, taking the linguistic data as it presents itself in the texts before us, the presence of prepositions in MT makes it possible that כל governs not only one coordinated phrase, but also a second more removed coordinated phrase.

1 Kgs 12:23

MT אל רחבעם בן שלמה מלך יהודה ואל כל בית יהודה ובנימין ויתר העם
to Rehoboam son-of Solomon king-of Judah and-to all-of house-of Judah and-Benjamin and-rest-of the-people
'to Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and unto all the house of Judah and Benjamin and the rest of the people'



'to Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and unto all the house of Judah and Benjamin and the rest of the people'

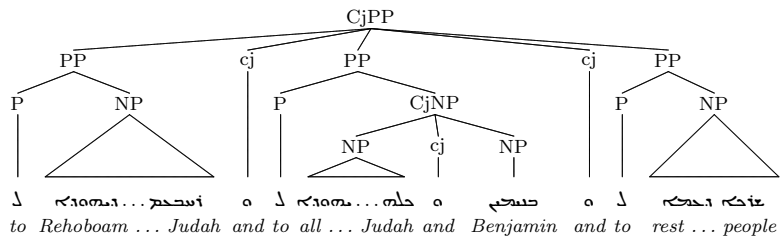
However, this could also be read without כל governing the entire second part, so that 'the rest of the people' should be read as parallel to 'all of the house of Judah and Benjamin'.

In BTR the insertion of an additional preposition makes it conclusive that the scope of לכל plus pronominal suffix does not extend over into the new phrase, 'and the rest of the people'. BTR thus creates three parallel coordinated prepositional phrases. With the more limited scope of construct state government in Syriac, the word 'house' in construct state would govern only 'Judah', and 'Benjamin' must be understood as parallel to 'all the house of Judah':[18]

[18] Cf. also 1 Kgs 20:17 where by the insertion of an extra noun, P makes two phrases while MT has כל 'all' governing two coordinated phrases introduced by אשר.

BTR ܠܪܚܒܥܡ ܒܪ ܫܠܡܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܘܠܟܠ ܒܝܬ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܘܒܢܝܡܝܢ ܘܠܫܪܝܗ ܕܥܡܐ

to-Rehoboam son-of Solomon king of-Judah and-to-all-him house-of Judah and-Benjamin and-to-rest-him of-people
'to Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and to all of him, [i.e.] the house of Judah, and Benjamin, and to the rest of him, [i.e.] of people'



Examples in Syriac where the government of a noun in construct state is clearly extended over a coordinate conjunction make use of the particle ܕ 'that of' to establish the connection:

1 Kgs 19:1[19]

BTR ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܒܝܐ ܕܒܥܠ ܘܕܐܝܟܪ

to-all-them prophets-of Baal and-that-of-shrines
'to all the prophets of the Baal and of the shrines'

The cases which formally would qualify for interpreting ܟܠ 'all' plus pronominal suffix as governing a coordinate phrase in Syriac would be those where there is congruency in number and gender between the suffix attached to 'all' and the nouns within the coordinate phrase. In most cases in which this could apply, the suffix is 3mp:[20]

1 Kgs 7:5

MT כל חפתחים והמזוזות

all-of the-doors and-the-posts
'all of the doors(,) and the posts'

P ܟܠܗܘܢ ܬܪܥ̈ܐ

all-them(MPL) *gates*(MPL) *and-doorposts*(MPL)
'all of the gates(,) and the doorposts'

In non-doubtful cases in Syriac we see that the suffix consistently adapts itself to the immediately following noun:

[19] Cf. 9a1: ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܒܝܐ ܕܒܥܠ ܘܕܐܝܟܪ 'to-all-them the-prophets of-Baal and-of-shrines'.

[20] Cf. also 1 Kgs 8:1; 10:15; 16:13; 2 Kgs 14:14; 24:13.

1 Kgs 10:4

MT את כל חכמת שלמה והבית אשר בנה
[OBJ MARK] *all-of wisdom-of Solomon and-the-house which he-built*
'all Solomon's wisdom, and the house that he had built'

P ܟܠܗ ܚܟܡܬܗ ܕܫܠܡܘܢ ܘܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܢܐ
all-her(FS) *wisdom*(FS)-*his*(MS) *of-Solomon*(MS) *and-house that-he-built*
'all Solomon's wisdom, and the house that he had built'

2 Kgs 17:13

MT Ketib: ביד כל נביאו כל חזה
in-hand-of all-of-prophet-his all-of seer
'by each of his prophet, each seer'[21]

P ܒܝܕ ܟܠ ܢܒܝܐ ܘܟܠ ܚܙܝ
in-hands of-all-them(MPL) *servants*(MPL)-*his prophets and-all-of seers*
'by all his servants, the prophets, and all seers'

It would, therefore, seem more in keeping with these non-doubtful cases to assume that the governing scope of 'all' plus pronominal suffix does not extend beyond the first noun and that a second phrase begins at the second noun, certainly when the second noun is further specified, as in:

1 Kgs 8:54

P ܟܠ ܨܠܘܬܗ ܘܬܚܢܘܢܗ ܗܠܝܢ
all-her(FS) *prayer*(FS) *and request*(FS) *this*(FS)
'all the prayer and this request'

The presence of the initial preposition, the object marker, in MT 2 Kgs 24:13 could be taken to indicate that 'all' governs the whole of the following phrase, though it must be admitted that the object marker is at times omitted and does not strictly follow prescriptive rules:

2 Kgs 24:13

MT את כל אוצרות בית יהוה ואוצרות בית המלך
[OBJ MARK] *all-of treasures-of house-of JHWH and-treasures-of house-of the-king*
'all of the treasures of the house of the LORD and [all-of] the treasures of the house of the king'

[21] The text-historical difficulties raised by the differences between the MT and the ancient versions are not in focus in this article.

Due to the pronominal suffix on 'all' in Syriac, it is less probable that the governing scope of the pronominal suffix extends over the coordinate conjunction:

P ܟܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܪܝܗ ܘܓܢܙ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ
all-him(MSG) *treasure*(MSG) *of-house-his*(MSG) *of-JHWH*(MSG) *and-treasure*(MSG) *of-house-of the-king*
'all the treasure of the LORD's house, and the treasure of the king's house'

Syriac Structures without a Pronominal Suffix Attached to 'All'
Coordinated constructions involving ܟܠ in construct state without an immediately following pronominal suffix occur less frequently than those with a suffix, but such a construction appears on the surface at least to be present in 2 Kgs 12:14. In Syriac due to the restricted scope of construct state government and to a difference in number between the first and second part of the phrase ('vessel' versus 'vessels'), it would appear that ܟܠ governs only the first part of the phrase:

2 Kgs 12:14

MT כל כלי זהב וכלי כסף
all-of vessels-of gold and-vessels-of silver
'all the vessels of gold and vessels of silver'

BTR ܟܠ ܟܣ ܕܕܗܒ ܐܘ ܟܣ ܕܟܣܦ
all-of vessel of-gold or vessels of-silver
'each vessel of gold or vessels of silver'

Due to the less restricted scope of construct state governing in Hebrew, כל 'all' in construct state in MT could well govern both types of vessels mentioned.

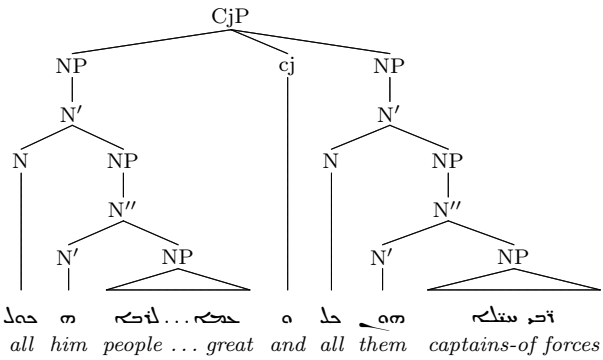
Finally, we turn to a construction which closely resembles the one in 2 Kgs 24:14. Again we find a similar deviation in the Syriac renderings:

2 Kgs 25:26

MT כל העם מקטן ועד גדול ושרי החילים
all-of the-people from-small and-unto great and-chiefs-of the-forces
'all the people, both small and great, and the captains of the forces'

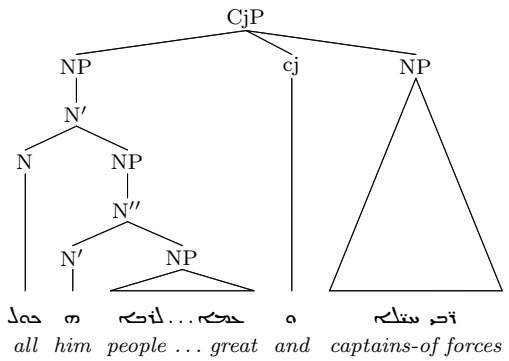
Again we see that כל could be taken to govern both of the following phrases, or merely the first one. By repeating 'all' in the second part, BTR made 'all' apply to both portions of this long phrase.

BTR ܟܠܗ ܥܡܐ ܘ ܥܡܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܘܪܒܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܥܕ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܘܥܕ ܪܒܐ ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܪܒܪܒܢ ܕܚܝܠܐ
all-him(MSG) *people*(MSG) *of-land from small and-unto to-great and-all-them*(MPL) *great*(MPL)*-of forces*
'all the people of the land, both small and great, and all the captains of the forces'



Here 9a1 omits the second 'all' with pronominal suffix, but maintains the coordinate conjunction (which was omitted in 9a1 2 Kgs 24:14):[22]

9a1 ܟܠ ܗ ܥܡ ܙܥܘܪ ܘܪܒ ܕܐܪܥ ܘܥܕ ܙܥܘܪ ܘܥܕ ܪܒ ܕܚܝܠ
all-him(MSG) *people*(MSG) *of-land from small and-unto to-great and great-of forces*
'all the people of the land, both small and great, and the captains of the forces'



Formally, 9a1 closely follows the surface text of MT and may represent the original Peshitta here. The Syriac of 9a1 suggests that כל was taken

[22] A few manuscripts omit this conjunction: 12a1*fam* 16g6 17/16g4.

to govern only the first phrase following it. The BTR-version may derive from a later scribe or editor who considered it unsatisfactory that 'all' did not extend to ܪܒܝ ܕܚܝܠܐ 'captains of forces', and therefore added ܘܟܠ. Later MSS (12a1 *fam* 16g6 17/16g4) omitted the conjunction preceding ܘܟܠ in BTR either because they took 'all the captains of the forces' as apposition to 'great' or due to faulty copying in the process of textual transmission.

4. *Assessment of the Text-Historical Relationship between the Readings of 9a1 and BTR*

In 2 Kgs 24:14, each MS group shows a deviation from MT that is not shared by the other group. Compared with MT, BTR exhibits a plus (the second ܟܠ 'all' + 3mp suffix) and 9a1 a minus (the second coordinate conjunction):

MT	וכל החרש והמסגר 'and each craftsman and smith'	MT	וכל החרש והמסגר 'and each craftsman *and* smith'
BTR	ܘܟܠ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܘܟܠ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܣܦܪ 'and all the guardsmen and *all* the couriers'	9a1	ܘܟܠ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ 'and all the guardsmen, couriers'

When the features of both groups shared with MT are combined, the hypothetical text, which was suggested on page 47 above, emerges:

* ܘܟܠ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ
'all the guardsmen, and the couriers'

It is well conceivable that these words represent the original Syriac translation, the more so since an exact parallel is supplied by P 1 Kgs 7:5 (see above). In the proposed reconstruction of our phrase, ܟܠ plus pronominal suffix governs only the first noun and a new parallel phrase is introduced by the coordinate conjunction. Perhaps the readings attested by BTR and 9a1 are to be seen as alternative modifications of the original translation that were made to place the final NP under the government of 'all'. These scribal (redactional?) interventions brought the Syriac text in line with the probable sense of the Hebrew (as shown by the first diagram of MT); presumably these were not inspired by MT, but represent an autonomous inner-Syriac development.

However, except possibly for the tendency to remain closer to the surface text of MT, it is hard to see why 9a1 would have preferred the reconstruction of the second NP as appositional to the first NP to the simpler solution of repeating ܟܠ plus pronominal suffix as BTR does. By doing so, 9a1 deviates significantly from MT at the level of phrase

structure. It should be noted that the omission of the coordinate conjunction between two nouns is nowhere else encountered in 9a1 Kings. This leaves room for the possibility that the absence of the coordinate conjunction in 9a1 is due not to linguistic motives but purely to textual corruption.

Theoretically the possibility cannot be excluded that BTR has preserved the original Peshitta translation. In that case, the absence of the second ܡܚܠܨܐ from 9a1 may be due to corruption during the transmission process.

The reverse possibility, i.e., that 9a1 preserves the original Peshitta text in v. 14, is rather implausible on the grounds mentioned above.

5. *Conclusions*

2 Kgs 24:14 provides insight into various aspects of the relationship between translation strategy and the requirements of the language system, both at the level of the choice of words and at the level of phrase structure.

Evidence from the various ancient and in particular Syriac versions reflect ambiguity in the interpretation of the governing scope of a noun in construct state in Hebrew. On the surface, 9a1 appears to remain close to the Hebrew, but sometimes by doing so diverges significantly from it. On the other hand, while on the surface BTR appears to deviate more from the Hebrew, it actually renders a particular interpretation of the sense of the broader range of 'all' in construct state in Hebrew.

Although the evidence does not point unequivocally in one direction, the predominant syntactic patterns in Syriac would argue for a more limited governing scope of the construct state. In Hebrew, the syntactic range of government of construct state is more extensive.

In order to evaluate the differences and similarities present in translations it is helpful to assess the material in a variety of ways. A systematic treatment of the language data at all levels—from graphic and phonetic level up through syntactic structures—can provide supplementary material to the explanations traditionally offered by the text-critical scholar.

TRANSLATING AND TRANSMITTING AN INSPIRED TEXT?

*Gillian Greenberg**

It is an honour to have the opportunity to contribute to this volume to mark the sixty-fifth birthday of Konrad Jenner, a focal figure in Peshitta work for so many years.

I am all too conscious that my modest contribution takes no cognizance of the man. It makes no acknowledgement of the personal debt that I owe to him, always so happily evident in his customary e-mail subscription 'with warm-hearted greetings from home to home', or for that matter to other members of the small community of peculiarly generous scholars working in his field of scholarship. I came late to Semitic studies after a career in clinical and scientific medicine where it is apparent that scientists have moved a long and regrettable, even if inevitable, way since the days of Konrad's fellow countryman Leeuwenhoek. That erstwhile liberal attitude to what is now called 'intellectual property' has changed beyond recognition in the scientific and medical fields, perhaps because revenue-earning now governs science departments and careers and has generated unscholarly concern with acquiring patent rights and concealing research protocols from competitors. Entry into the world of Peshitta study was a step back into a more gracious age. Donald Walter immediately agreed to allow me to use his as yet unpublished study of variants in P-Jeremiah; Konrad's approval too was promptly forthcoming. When I later began to study the translation techniques in the Peshitta to Isaiah three scholars engaged on the new ICC volumes, Hugh Williamson, John Goldingay, and David Payne, readily provided me with copies of their draft texts. All these scholars have shown me a trust and generosity which are sadly unimaginable in today's scientific world.

The discussion presented here is based in the field of literary criticism; it also throws up certain wider questions. The examples discussed, drawn from the Peshitta to Isaiah and to Jeremiah (P-Isaiah and P-Jeremiah), constitute a brief preliminary communication of the findings of a wider

* I am grateful to Dr. A. Gelston for his comments on this material and the general theme, and to Drs K.D. Jenner and D.M. Walter for permission to use unpublished work on variants in P-Jeremiah.

study in progress of the choice of lexical equivalents in the Peshitta which shows (i) that even when working on words of fundamental importance the translator or translators felt free to vary the choice of lexical equivalents for the words in the *Vorlage*; (ii) the wide range of Syriac vocabulary; (iii) that some later scribes also felt free to substitute synonyms or near-synonyms for words in their exemplars.

1. *Choices Made by the Translators*

Examples illustrating the translators' free approach fall into two groups.

(i) Examples concerning words of fundamental importance where Hebrew uses several roots to express differences in nuance, but where the translator appears to blur the distinctions established in the Hebrew by rendering some of these roots as if their meanings were freely interchangeable.

(ii) Examples showing the wide range of Syriac vocabulary: several meanings are expressed by a single Hebrew root, but the translator uses a number of roots in Syriac to express these meanings precisely.

(i) Words of fundamental importance.

Such words, including some whose meaning was not evidently in doubt, were sometimes rendered with a number of different lexical equivalents. To today's reader this is perhaps surprising: overall, the Peshitta faithfully renders the sense of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, and in any translation, let alone one of a biblical text, we now tend to expect consistency at important points unless there is a clear reason for deviation. So, did the ancient translators perhaps intend their choices to have exegetical significance, inspiring later expositors and giving them an opportunity to base discussion on the different choices? Or were they simply relishing their literary freedom and an occasional rhetorical flourish?[1]

The examples discussed here have been drawn from P-Jeremiah, and are renderings of two Hebrew words of fundamental importance, פשע and עון.

(a) The Peshitta uses four roots to render the five occurrences in Jeremiah of פשע 'an action breaking relationships within the community

[1] These different choices pose a nice problem for the group of colleagues engaged in NEATSB (the New English Annotated Translation of the Syriac Bible): if we are to be faithful to the Peshitta we must represent the differences, but we cannot be sure that we correctly perceive and can explain any intended differences in meaning.

and with God'.[2] These roots are ܟܕܒ 'to deceive, to deny' (2:8, 29); ܚܝܒ 'to owe, to be guilty; a debt' (5:6); ܚܛܐ 'to sin; a sin' (3:13); and ܥܘܠ perhaps a denominative from ܥܘܠܐ 'to act perversely; an iniquity' (33:8).[3] To modern western eyes, there is no evident difference between the meanings of the Hebrew word in these five contexts: at each, the sense is apparently as expected, that of the people transgressing against God. Presumably the writer chose פשע because it, rather than any of the other Hebrew words for serious wrongdoing, expressed the sense he wanted to give, yet the translator felt free to use a range of different renderings.

(b) Three roots are used to render the 24 occurrences of עון 'misdeed, sin; guilt caused by sin; punishment for guilt' in Jeremiah. These are ܚܝܒ (5:25; 13:22;[4] 16:10, 18; 25:12; 30:14, 15; 31:34[33]; 33:8; 36:3); ܚܛܐ (2:22; 3:13; 11:10; 14:7, 20; 31:30[29]; 32:18; 51:6); and ܥܘܠ (14:10; 16:17; 18:23; 33:8; 36:31; 50:20).

Parallelism with חטא is frequent in MT and may sometimes have influenced the choice, but can only account for a small part of the variation. For instance, in Jer 14:20 where the MT has three Hebrew roots in ידענו יהוה רשענו עון אבותינו כי חטאנו לך 'We acknowledge, O God, our wickedness, the iniquity of our fathers, for we have sinned against you' the Peshitta uses the root ܚܛܐ to render each. This seems like a deliberate decision on the part of the translator to achieve the emphasis by repetition rather than preserving the approach seen in the Hebrew. And in Jer 33:8, where the sequence in MT is עון, חטא, עון, חטא, פשע 'iniquity, sin, iniquity, sin, breaking away' in the Peshitta the equivalences are varied, giving the sequence ܥܘܠ, ܚܛܐ, ܚܝܒ, ܚܛܐ, ܥܘܠ.

Had a number of translators worked on Jeremiah there might have been evidence that different choices of equivalent were made in different chapters, but this is not apparent.

(ii) Examples concerning words where a number of different meanings are known to be expressed by a single Hebrew root and where the range

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[2] Definitions of Hebrew words are taken from L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (tr. and ed. M.E.J. Richardson; Leiden, 1994–2000).

[3] There may be a difference between the approach in Jeremiah and that in Isaiah. In Isaiah פשע occurs 20 times and is rendered with the root ܥܘܠ at 19 of these passages. Even at the twentieth, Isa 53:5, some MSS have ܥܘܠ: ܫܒܩ ... ܚܛܐ] ܚܛܐ ܥܘܠ 9l5 11l4. This raises the related question as to the number of translators of the Peshitta: work in progress on the translation technique in P-Isaiah is beginning to suggest that there are a number of consistent differences between that and the technique in P-Jeremiah.

[4] ܫܒܩ] ܥܘܠ 9a1*fam.*

of Syriac vocabulary allows the translator to express these meanings precisely.

The examples discussed here are two widely used Hebrew roots, נשא which includes 'to carry; to lift up; to raise the hand; to lift the head; to raise the voice; to bear' and לקח which includes 'to take, seize; to take and go away with; to accept; to fetch; to take away'. The examples are drawn from P-Isaiah and P-Jeremiah. The sheer number of Syriac roots with which these Hebrew words are rendered is impressive.

(a) נשא is used 59 times in Isaiah, 26 times in Jeremiah, and rendered with 13 different Syriac roots. These are ܒܥܐ 'to seek, to beseech'; ܫܪܐ 'to be glad, to rejoice'; ܕܒܪ 'to lead, to direct'; ܐܬܪܡ 'to glorify'; ܡܠܐ 'to fill, to complete'; ܢܨܒ 'to take'; ܗܝܡܢ 'to believe, to bear'; ܥܢܐ 'to answer; ܩܒܠ 'to receive'; ܙܥܩ 'to clamour, to resound'; ܪܝܡ 'to be or become high, to lift up'; ܫܒܩ 'to let alone, to remit'; ܢܣܒ 'to lift up, to bear'. As illustrations of the precision with which the different occurrences are translated, in P-Jeremiah ܪܝܡ is used for lifting up the eyes or head (3:2; 13:20; 52:31) whereas ܢܣܒ serves for lifting up a banner or a beacon (4:6; 6:1) and ܒܥܐ for prayer (7:16; 11:14). To bear affliction is rendered with the root ܗܝܡܢ (10:19) and to bear insult with ܩܒܠ (15:15(16)). In Isa 3:3; 9:14 praiseworthy elevation is rendered with the root ܐܬܪܡ, distinguishing it from haughtiness (e.g. 2:12, the root ܢܣܒ) and from the lofty hills (e.g. 2:14, the root ܪܝܡ). In Isa 3:7, where the voice is the object, though as is not uncommon with this verb there is an ellipsis, the root ܥܢܐ is selected.

Yet in Isa 10:24, 26, two verses where the sense of the Hebrew is identical, ܪܝܡ is used first and ܢܣܒ at the second occurrence, presumably a deliberate exercise of choice, and raising another point of general interest: the Peshitta is, in the consensus view of authorities,[5] understood to be a translation worked out in small sections. Taking this view, the translators' focus was narrow, and comparison of equivalents in one section with those in another would be fruitless. Here, however, that cannot be argued, as the different choices are so near to one another. Similarly, when translating 'lifting up a banner' with Hebrew which is closely similar at each occurrence, there is some variation: ܪܝܡ in Isa 5:26, ܢܣܒ in Isa 11:12; 13:2; Jer 4:6.

(b) לקח is used 22 times in Isaiah and 65 times in Jeremiah, and rendered with 11 different Syriac roots. These are ܬܦܫ 'to seize, lay hold of'; ܐܬܐ 'to come'; ܕܒܪ 'to lead, govern'; ܗܦܟ 'to turn, return'; ܢܨܒ 'to take'; ܐܠܨ 'to go up'; ܨܒܐ 'to wish, delight in'; ܩܒܠ 'to accept';

[5] M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56; Cambridge, 1999), 22–23.

ܫܒܝ‘to take into captivity’; ܢܨܒ, ‘to lift up’; and ܐܬܚ ‘to exact’.[6] The well-known distinction between ‘to take’ a thing, and ‘to take’ a person[7] is clear, and is nicely shown in Jer 38:11 where ܢܨܒ is used with reference to the men, and ܢܦܩ with reference to the rags. Further examples of precision include the use of ܫܒܝ for taking people captive (Jer 20:5); ܐܬܚ for seeking vengeance (Jer 20:10); ܬܦܫ for seizing a person (Jer 36:26); ܫܩܠ for lifting up a person (Jer 37:17); and ܣܒܠ for receiving instruction or correction (Jer 2:30; 17:23).

2. *Choices Made by the Scribes*

The comparable findings in the work of the scribes, apparently substituting synonyms or near-synonyms for words in their exemplars, are also surprising: it seems that some scribes may have felt free to work not simply as copyists but to exercise some degree of literary independence. These passages are distinct from those where the familiar reasons for change from one MS to another apply, including for instance the evolution of Syriac itself with the passage of time,[8] cultural, religious, or political motivation,[9] and occasionally the correction of an earlier error.[10] Excluding changes possibly made for the latter reasons, and also those readily explicable as probably due to scribal error or corruption, a number of instances remain.

The examples which follow are taken from a comparison of 9a1 and 7a1 to Jeremiah. First, in some cases the accuracy or precision differs between MSS. Sometimes, 9a1 uses a more accurate or more precise equivalent than does 7a1: for instance, in Jer 7:14 for MT מקום ‘place’ 7a1 has ܩܪܝܬܐ ‘city’, but 9a1*fam* has ܐܬܪܐ ‘place’; perhaps the variant in 7a1 was intended to make the phrase more precisely comparable

[6] Isa 37:14 ܢܨܒ] ܢܨܒ 12a1 → | Isa 47:3 ܫܒܝ] ܐܬܚ 7a1 9l6.

[7] For instance Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 107.

[8] For changes in vocabulary, see for instance A. van der Kooij, ‘On the significance of MS 5b1 for Peshitta Genesis’, in P.B. Dirksen and M.J. Mulder (eds.), *The Peshitta as a Translation, Papers Read at the Peshitta Symposium 1985* (MPIL 4; Leiden, 1988), 183–199, 190–191, 198; J. Joosten, ‘“Le Père envoie le Fils”. La provenance occidentale d’une locution syriaque’, *RHR* 214/3 (1997), 299–309; M.P. Weitzman, ‘Peshitta, Septuagint and Targum’, in A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg (eds.), *From Judaism to Christianity* (JSSt.S 8, Oxford, 1999), 181–216, 187–188. For changes in structure, see for instance L. Van Rompay, ‘Some Preliminary Remarks on the Origins of Classical Syriac as a Standard Language’, in G. Goldenberg and S. Raz (eds.), *Semitic and Cushitic Studies* (Wiesbaden, 1994), 70–89.

[9] Discussed with relation to the translator in K.D. Jenner et al., ‘The New English Annotated Translation of the Syriac Bible (NEATSB): Retrospect and Prospect’ (PIC 23), *AS* 2.1 (2004), 85–106, 89–90.

[10] For instance, see Jer 27:1 ܐܝܓܪܬܐ] ܡܨܪܝܬܐ 9a1*fam*.

with the fate of Shilo? There are some examples, perhaps rather fewer though the total number is too small to justify a firm conclusion, where the reverse is the case: for instance, Jer 34:7, 22 where for MT לחם 'to fight' 7a1 has the accurate ܠܚܡ but 9a1, 9a1 → respectively have ܟܢܫ 'to gather together'.[11] It is possible that simple scribal error is the explanation, since the middle letter in which the two differ might have been miscopied, but the repeated occurrence and the example of Jer 51:2 where, translating MT כי היו עליה מסביב, 7a1 has ܟܢܫ but 9a1 has ܠܚܡ make this less likely.

Second, there are a small number of examples where influence from LXX may perhaps be evident. For example, in Jer 40:5 MT has ערי 'cities (of)'. 7a1 has, correspondingly, ܡܕܝܢܬ, 9a1 → has ܐܪܥܐ, 'earth', and LXX (47:5) similarly has γῆ (though there could be dittography from 40:4ba or from the end of 40:6). In Jer 49:3, for MT שדד 'to be robbed, to despoil' 7a1 has ܬܒܪ 'to break, shatter': if this were the original, 9a1*fam* 12a1 → ܣܘ could perhaps be a deliberate correction in the light of LXX (Jer 30:19) ὤλετο.

Third, there are other pairs of words which seem to be equally satisfactory renderings of the Hebrew. In Jer 8:3 MT has the root נדח, 'to lead astray, to scatter'. This root occurs 18 times in Jeremiah, and is usually rendered with ܦܙܪ 'to scatter', and sometimes with either ܕܚܐ 'to drive away' or ܐܬܥ 'to go astray'. At Jer 8:3 7a1 has ܦܙܪ but 9a1*fam* (*ut videtur*) has ܐܬܪ, used nowhere else in Jeremiah to translate נדח. ܐܬܪ seems to have a perfectly appropriate meaning: perhaps the copyist of 7a1 decided that, since this root in his exemplar was unusual in this context, he would change it to the more usual root ܦܙܪ.[12]

3. *Summary and Conclusions*

In summary, so far as the translators are concerned, they apparently felt free to deviate occasionally from a word-for-word rendering of their *Vorlagen*. Sometimes their range of choices shows simply that they had a clear perception of nuances in the Hebrew;[13] sometimes, and this suggestion is put forward tentatively, the evidence may also suggest

[11] Also, though with the difference in the opposite direction, Jer 51:2 for MT היו עליה מסביב: ܗܘ ܚܠܫ ܒܟܠ ܣܒܒ ܘܐܬܒܗܠ 9a1.

[12] Dr. A. Gelston, personal communication 2004, points out that a textual basis for this change is possible here, although the two roots share only one letter.

[13] A. Gelston, *The Peshitta of the Twelve Prophets* (Oxford, 1987), 139–143, notes that the 'alleged paucity of Syriac vocabulary' is relative, and that the translators made little effort to be consistent in rendering particular words, giving examples of the sensitive use by the translators of Syriac terms to indicate differences in the sense of the Hebrew.

that they deliberately varied their choice of equivalent when there was no apparent reason in the Hebrew to do so. Although it is compatible with a picture of a translator confident in his ability and enjoying the exercise of literary initiative, this degree of freedom, extending as it does to words of fundamental importance, may be surprising. Discussing the range of biblical translation, from the free to the literal, Barr wrote 'our modern cultural preference is for a fairly free translation ... yet ... we do not want a translation that is so free that it begins to misrepresent the sense of the original':[14] where words such as those for the different kinds of sin are concerned, misrepresenting the sense of the original may be at least a possibility, and the approach seems to suggest a view a considerable distance from the concept of inspired scripture.

Other possible reasons for the variation in equivalents include, first, literary taste: the translators may simply have wanted variety. For instance, Weitzman shows that where the consistent use of one Syriac equivalent would mislead or be monotonous, the translators sought variety.[15] Morrison gives examples of varied choices of equivalent in the Peshitta of 1 Samuel, attributable for instance to harmonization or to context.[16] But these are largely words of bread-and-butter use, not words for concepts such as sin.[17] Second, a desire to prompt an exegetical reading: for instance, different forms of sin have different religious implications, and perhaps the translators wanted expositors to consider these. Third, influence from LXX: a degree of inconsistency is also found in the Greek words selected to render important Hebrew words, so the same questions and possible explanations may apply, though perhaps to a rather lesser extent, to that Version too.[18] Some possible examples of small-scale influence from LXX have been suggested above, but there is no convincing evidence that the choices of words in general were consistently influenced by those in LXX. There is also the wider question of the translators' attitude to their *Vorlagen* on the

[14] J. Barr, 'The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations', *MSU* XV (1979), 279–325, 279.

[15] Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 26–28. The familiar and methodical technique involving 'A' and 'B' words, perhaps intended to introduce variety, does not apply in the examples discussed here.

[16] C.E. Morrison, *The Character of the Syriac Version of the First Book of Samuel* (MPIL 13; Leiden, 2001), 59–61.

[17] Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 217–218, describes 'a certain negligence' in the rendering of the sacrificial laws: this may be ascribed to the indifferent or even hostile attitude to sacrifice, the priesthood, and the Temple, traceable right through the Peshitta to the Old Testament.

[18] Notwithstanding the overall position: 'It is indeed a mark of the character of the LXX (...) that many key words of the Hebrew Bible received from it a remarkably constant rendering in Greek' (Barr, 'Typology of Literalism', 306–307).

larger scale: perhaps, seeing that LXX was not slavishly consistent,[19] the Peshitta translators followed this example.

This attitude may also have motivated the scribes in later centuries, who seem to have felt free to deviate to some extent from their exemplars. This is different from the critical approach described by Gelston in his discussion of the work of Sergius Risius;[20] it seems as if some scribes may have occasionally substituted a different word in a translation without being able to justify this by a superior knowledge of the source language and a careful review of the *Vorlage*. If the scribe were convinced that he knew the nuance of the Hebrew sufficiently well to justify a change he might introduce a near-synonym, but he could not properly do this without both access to and good understanding of the Hebrew, and there is no hard evidence that later copyists/revisers ever went back to the Hebrew.[21]

Viewed overall, is it possible to suggest that the attitude of the translators and of the scribes indicates that they were not conscious of an inspirational element underlying the wording of the books of the prophets on which they worked—not of course the Pentateuch but nonetheless of biblical status?

The data discussed are clear, but the conclusions are speculative, as indeed must be a proportion of all conclusions based on the analysis of extant Peshitta MSS. Nonetheless, I hope that the discussion presented here, tentative as it is, may perhaps strike a chord with Konrad's deep and comprehensive understanding of the reception history of the Peshitta, and of the work of the Syrian commentators on the use and exegesis of that translation which he has done so much to advance.

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[19] For instance, Jer 2:8 והרעים פשעו בי 'and the rulers transgressed against me', becomes οἱ ποιμένες ἠσέβουν εἰς ἐμέ; Jer 2:29 כלכם פשעתם בי, 'all of you transgressed against me', becomes πάντες ὑμεῖς ἠνομήσατε εἰς ἐμέ (The aim of the Targum and the halachic constraints on that Version largely invalidate comparison.)

[20] Gelston, *Twelve Prophets*, 28–38.

[21] S.P. Brock, personal communication 2004; R.B. ter Haar Romeny 'Hypotheses on the Development of Judaism and Christianity in Syria in the Period after 70 CE', in H. van de Sandt (ed.), *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (Assen, 2005), 13–33 (26); A. Salvesen, 'Did Jacob of Edessa Know Hebrew?', in A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg (eds.), *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts* (JSOT.S 333, London, 2001), [457–467] 467; Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 278.

THE HEBREW AND SYRIAC TEXT OF DEUTERONOMY 1:44

Jan Joosten

The Old Testament Peshitta is without doubt the ancient version most neglected by textual critics. Beyond the questions of language and script, the unreliability of textual editions may be partially to blame for this sad state of affairs. The progression, however, of the Leiden edition should transform earlier practice: the text of the Old Testament Peshitta is now available, for almost all books of the Bible, in an edition based on the best manuscripts and presented in a way designed to facilitate its use in textual criticism. For this achievement, the Peshitta Institute and its present custodian, who is the laureate of this volume, deserve high praise. The following study intends to illustrate the potential value of the Peshitta for the textual criticism of the Hebrew text of the Bible.

Deut 1:44 relates the catastrophic outcome of Israel's attempt, against the express command of YHWH sanctioning their earlier refusal, to conquer the promised land:

> ויצא האמרי הישב בהר ההוא לקראתכם וירדפו אתכם כאשר תעשינה הדברים ויכתו אתכם בשעיר עד חרמה
>
> Then the Amorites who lived in that hill country came out against you and chased you as bees do and beat you down in Seir as far as Hormah. (RSV)

At first sight the text of Deut 1:44a poses no problems. The verse can easily be translated, and fits the context well. In comparison with the earlier narration in Num 14:45 one notes that the sentence 'and they chased you as bees do' is added. Such an embellishment is entirely natural in Moses' oral retelling of the event: the simile adds life to the story of this terrible turn of affairs. The Masoretic text of the verse is in the main supported by the Samaritan Pentateuch,[1] the Septuagint,[2] the Targums,[3] and the Vulgate.[4]

[1] The Samaritan Pentateuch exhibits several variants which make the verse agree with the parallel text in Num 14:45. Conversely, the simile of the bees is introduced in the Numbers passage, where it is absent from the MT. Such harmonisations are typical of the Samaritan text and are generally agreed to be secondary.

[2] For the syntax of the Septuagint, see the article quoted below in note 5.

[3] A minor variant in some of the Targums will be discussed below.

1. *A Problem of Style*

There is, however, a stylistic reason to suspect the soundness of the transmitted Hebrew text. The use of the verb עשה 'to do' in replacement of the verb of the main clause is unique in similes likening an action to the same action as proverbially attributed to a different subject.[5] In English, and other European languages, the use of 'to do' as a 'pro-verb' in order to avoid repetition is entirely idiomatic. The Hebrew language, however, requires repetition of the identical verb. Consider the following examples from the Book of Deuteronomy:

Deut 1:31	The Lord your God *bore* you, as a man *bears* his son.
Deut 8:5	As a man *discplines* his son, the Lord your God *disciplines* you.
Deut 28:29	And you shall *grope* at noonday, as the blind *grope* in darkness.

In all these examples, the simile contains an adverbial complement thus setting them apart from the simile in Deut 1:44. But even when there is no further complement, the main verb is repeated:

Judg 7:5	Every one that *laps* the water with his tongue, as a dog *laps*.[6]
Amos 2:13	Behold, I am *pressed* under you, as a cart is *pressed* that is full of sheaves (AV).

The repetition of the verb of the main clause is the rule, not only in Deuteronomy, but in the Hebrew Bible in general.[7] Whereas such repetition is found 18 times, the substitution of עשה in the comparative clause is found only in our verse.[8] In light of this rule, one would have expected the text of Deut 1:44 to read:

וירדפו אתכם כאשר תרדפנה הדברים
. . . and *chased* you as bees *chase*.[9]

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[4] A minor variant in the Vulgate will be discussed below.

[5] On the syntax of similes, see J. Joosten, 'Elaborate Similes – Hebrew and Greek. A Study in Septuagint Translation Technique', *Bib* 77 (1996), 227–236; T.L. Brensinger, *Simile and Prophetic Language in the Old Testament* (Mellen Biblical Press Series 43; Lewiston NY, 1996).

[6] See the French translation *La Bible en Français Courant*: 'Ceux qui laperont l'eau avec la langue comme le font les chiens.'

[7] See also: Exod 33:11; Num 11:12; Judg 7:5; 16:9; 1 Sam 19:4; 1 Kgs 14:10; 2 Kgs 21:13; Isa 25:11; 66:20; Jer 13:11; 43:12; Amos 2:13; 3:12; 9:9; Mal 3:17.

[8] This statement is valid only for quasi-proverbial similes. Where a comparison is made to a specific event, the verb עשה may be used, see Deut 2:12.

[9] The verb רדף may occur without explicit direct object: Gen 14:14; 1 Sam 30:10.

It is interesting to note that the Vulgate as well as some of the Targums have adapted their rendering of the verse to the dominant phrasing of the Hebrew Bible:

Vulgate *persecutus est vos sicut solent apes p e r s e q u i* (similarly Targum Neofiti)

Such renderings show up the stylistic infelicity of the MT. But they can hardly be held to suggest a solution. Few textual critics will be prepared to argue that the Latin and Aramaic texts attest an original reading that was lost from the MT. If a text-critical remedy is to be envisaged, it will have to be found elsewhere.

Alongside the similes exhibiting repetition of the main verb, a less frequent type of simile exists whose verb is not the verb of the main clause. In this case, an action is compared to a different action, of proverbial tenour. An example may be quoted from Deuteronomy:

Deut 28:49 The Lord will bring a nation against you from afar, from the end of the earth, *as the eagle flies*.

In this example, the proverbial flight of the eagle illustrates the menace and the speed of the nation that will be brought against Israel. Other cases show the same phrasing:

1 Sam 26:20 For the king of Israel has come out to seek a flea, like one who *hunts* a partridge in the mountains.

2 Sam 17:12 We shall light upon him as the dew *falls* on the ground.

Deut 1:44 could belong to this category if the meaning of the verb in the comparative clause were not a bland 'to do', but something more expressive—something more typical of bees

2. *The Peshitta and its* Vorlage

In his admirable introduction to the Old Testament Peshitta, the lamented Michael Weitzman has drawn attention to a few cases where the Syriac translation implies a vocalization diverging from the Masoretic one.[10] One of the examples he presents is the rendering of the verbal form under discussion. The Peshitta reads in Deut 1:44a:

ܘܢܦܩ ܥܡܐ ܗܘ ܠܩܪܝܬܟܘܢ ܘܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܘܢܦܩ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܗܟܢܐ

> And the Amorites dwelling in that hill country came out against you and pursued you like bees *driven out by smoke.*

As is indicated by Weitzman, the Syriac translator appears to have read, instead of תעשינה, the graphically similar תעשנה understood as a 3rd fem. plur. Pual imperfect of the verb עשן 'to smoke'. The Hebrew text reflected by the Peshitta may thus be reconstructed:

> וירדפו אתכם כאשר תְּעֻשַּׁנָּה הדברים
> . . . and chased you as bees *are smoked out.*

One cannot be certain that such a Hebrew text ever existed except in the mind of the Syriac translator. Yet, the reconstructed text is possible, both grammatically and lexically.[11] Contextually, the effect of the clause is to compare the action of the Amorites in chasing Israel to the action of bees when they are smoked out. This simile seems to be quite apt. Last but not least, the text reflected in the Peshitta conforms to the usual syntax of similes in the Hebrew Bible.

Textual critics are usually very hesitant to propose corrections of the MT on the basis of the Peshitta alone. Recent research has made it clear, however, that the Syriac translation originated early enough to have preserved non-Masoretic variants, and generally does not depend on other versions of the Bible. There is nothing inherently improbable in the hypothesis of a non-Masoretic Hebrew variant reflected only by the Peshitta. If there was such a variant text for Deut 1:44, internal considerations—i.e. the stylistic problem in the MT—could lead one to prefer the variant over the transmitted text.[12]

The Masoretic reading could be accounted for as a facilitating reading. In a non-vocalised text, תַּעֲשֶׂנָּה, the 3rd fem. plur. imperfect Qal of עשׂה and תְּעֻשַּׂנָּה, the 3rd fem. plur. imperfect Pual of עשׂן are very similar. Moreover, the verb עשׂה is much more frequent than the verb עשׂן. An early scribe could easily have mistaken the latter for the former and thus created the MT, stylistically weak but contextually serviceable.

3. *Conclusion*

In his novel *The Chosen*, Chaim Potok stages a rabbi scandalized by the suggestion that a passage in the Talmud should be emended because it is

[11] The verb עשן occurs in the Hebrew Bible in the Qal only. The Bible is a small corpus, however, and lack of attestation does not imply that a Pual did not exist in ancient Hebrew. Post-biblical Hebrew knows both a Piel and a Pual of עשן with the meaning "to smoke, to fumigate, to be touched by smoke".

[12] Note Weitzman's prudent judgment (*Syriac Version*, 20): 'Occasionally it is arguable that P's identification is superior to the conventional one.'

grammatically indefensible. One might have even stronger reservations about an emendation of the biblical text based on a mere stylistic anomaly.

Nevertheless, the case of Deut 1:44 merits consideration. The stylistic anomaly in the MT corresponds to the textual evidence provided by the Peshitta as do two sides of the same coin. Not only is there a difficulty in the Hebrew text, there is also a variant reading attested in an ancient version. Taken together, the two phenomena tend to indicate that the Hebrew text reflected by the Syriac translation is the more original text of Deut 1:44.

MS 9A1 OF THE PESHITTA OF ISAIAH: SOME COMMENTS

Arie van der Kooij

Koster's theory of 'the three consecutive stages' is an important and illuminating hypothesis about the early history of the Old Testament Peshitta, that is to say, roughly speaking, the history from the second century up to the twelfth century. The three stages are: the earliest (attainable) text; the BTR, 'the average text of the 7th and 8th century mss'; and subsequently the Textus Receptus (TR).[1] Since there is reason to believe that the original text of the Peshitta was close to the Hebrew text (MT), the main criterion in evaluating readings in order to establish the earliest text is the agreement with MT (the MT criterion).

As the Leiden edition of the Peshitta offers basically the BTR there is still much work to be done in order to produce a critically assessed text of P. Recent research has led to the conclusion that, at least for particular books, a few MSS are the most valuable, such as 5b1 for Genesis and Exodus,[2] and 9a1 for Kings and Jeremiah.[3] The significance of these two MSS is that they show a high number of agreements with MT not shared by other (ancient) MSS.

As for the Peshitta of Isaiah it seems reasonable to assume that the MSS 5ph1 and 9a1 are witnesses of the earliest stage of the text, but, as has been pointed out by Brock, this only holds good for a limited number of cases because 'both MSS ... are full of idiosyncrasies which often represent secondary developments'.[4] In this contribution

[1] M.D. Koster, *The Peshitta of Exodus. The Development of its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries* (SSN 19; Assen–Amsterdam, 1977), 2.

[2] For Genesis, see R.B. ter Haar Romeny, 'Techniques of Translation and Transmission in the Earliest Text Forms of the Syriac Version of Genesis', in P.B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij (eds.), *The Peshitta as a Translation. Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19–21 August 1993* (MPIL 8; Leiden, 1995), 177–185, and for Exodus, see Koster, *The Peshitta of Exodus*.

[3] Cf. M.P. Weitzman, 'The Originality of Unique Readings in Peshitta MS 9a1', in P.B. Dirksen and M.J. Mulder (eds.), *The Peshitta: Its Early Text and History. Papers read at the Peshitta Symposium held at Leiden 30–31 August 1985* (MPIL 4; Leiden, 1988), 226. For 1 Kings, see P.J. Williams, *Studies in the Syntax of the Peshitta of 1 Kings* (MPIL 12; Leiden, 2001), 3, and for Jeremiah, see G. Greenberg, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Jeremiah* (MPIL 13; Leiden, 2002), 126–142.

[4] S.P. Brock, 'Text History and Text Division in Peshitta Isaiah', in Dirksen and Mulder, *The Peshitta*, 50.

in honour of Konrad D. Jenner, I would like to discuss some readings of 9a1 in Isaiah which may reflect an early text tradition. Since 9a1 is 'of a very mixed character', each reading (variant) has to be dealt with individually. Although the MT criterion is very important, it has been argued by Brock, and rightly so, that one cannot assume 'that the original reading will always be the one closest to the Hebrew'.[5] As he has made clear with a number of examples, one should also take into account other considerations, such as the possibility that an agreement with MT can be coincidental, the matter of translation technique, influence of the Septuagint either at the time the translation was made or at some stage in the transmission history of the Peshitta of Isaiah. It is in line with this approach that a few readings of 9a1 will be treated below.

1. *Readings of 9a1*

According to Brock, only 25 readings out of about 85 distinctive variants in 9a1 which could be seen as 'of some significance', 'can be classed as H-readings',[6] i.e. readings in agreement with MT. This does not mean, however, that it can be taken for granted that these readings are to be regarded as presenting the original reading, as may be clear from the following two examples:

(1) Isa 10:6 ܚܢܦ] ܚܦܐ 9a1*fam*
The variant reading, with Nun, is linguistically speaking more similar to MT (חנף) than the reading of the other MSS (with Lamadh). One therefore could argue that this reading is the older, or original one, since it agrees with MT. However, in other places in Isaiah where the Hebrew root חנף occurs, the Syriac version (including 9a1) offers a rendering with Lamadh in 9:16, 24:5, and 32:6, and with Nun in 33:14. The textual evidence seems to point to a style of translation which is marked by a variety.[7] If so, it will be difficult to say which reading in 10:6 might be the better one. The agreement with MT could be accidental.

(2) Isa 65:14 ܢܚܝܕܐ] add ܡܠܠ 9a1*fam*
This is an interesting case because it is one of the places where 9a1 offers a plus which is in agreement with MT (תיליל), and where 5ph1 goes with the mainstream tradition.[8] It therefore seems likely that the reading of 9a1 represents the original text, but since it is also possible

[5] Brock, 'Text History', 59.
[6] Brock, 'Text History', 56.
[7] The same applies to Peshitta Job.
[8] Cf. Brock, 'Text History', 56–57.

that the plus in 9a1 is due to the influence of the Septuagint tradition, at some stage in the transmission history of the Peshitta [9], this is far from certain. The fact that 5ph1 supports the shorter text favours the second possibility.

Distinctive readings of 9a1 which concern the presence or absence of *seyame*, or Waw, *et cetera*, are in general not significant because the agreement with MT in those cases may well be fortuitous. There are, however, a few interesting cases which seem to reflect some connection with the MT tradition. To give one example:

(3) Isa 65:9 ,ܛܘܪܝ] c. sey 9a1*fam*
Ed reads '(an inheritor) of my mountain (sing.)' whereas 9a1 has a plural as in MT ('my mountains'). Since the agreement with MT concerns the vocalisation of the word it is difficult to say which reading, or interpretation, may represent the original one. It is interesting to note, however, that the reading in the singular as attested by Ed is in agreement with the Septuagint (τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου), the more so since there is evidence that the translator of the Syriac version of Isaiah made use of the Septuagint.[10] Moreover, the singular reading is also attested in a quotation from Aphrahat which reads, 'of my holy mountain', containing the plus 'holy' just as in the Septuagint (Dem xxiii; PS 1.2, col. 40). So there is reason to believe that the singular reading represents the original one. The plural reading, on the other hand, is attested by MT as well as by the Targum and the Vulgate. The agreement between this reading and 9a1 might be due to the influence of a Jewish reading tradition which is also found in MT.

Of particular interest are distinctive readings in 9a1 which are shared by 5ph1. As far as 5ph1 is legible, this is the case in 13 places. Only in four of them is the reading closer to MT. Of these four readings, 'two are significant' as Brock states, viz. 38:21–22, and 49:8.[11]

(4) Isa 38:21–22: verse order 22–21 in Ed] 21–22 5ph1 9a1
Ed contains a verse order different from MT, whereas 5ph1 and 9a1 are in line with MT. It thus seems likely that both MSS offer the orginal text of the Peshitta text. However, it is also arguable that the majority text is the primary one. As has been pointed out by Williamson, the placement

[9] For this aspect, see Brock, 'Text History', 63–64.
[10] See A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Freiburg–Göttingen, 1981), 287–289.
[11] For these data, see Brock, 'Text History', 55.

of vv. 21–22 is related to the insertion of the psalm of Hezekiah (vv. 9–20): v. 21 ('that he may live') is connected to v. 16b ('Lord, make me live'), and the motif of going up to the house of the Lord in v. 22 goes together with the ending of v. 20.[12] As a result, the chapter ends with the question of Hezekiah ('What is the sign that I shall go up to the house of the Lord?') which is not followed by an answer. This, of course, creates an exegetical problem. The earliest interpretation we know of, is found in the Septuagint where v. 22 reads, 'This is the sign (τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον)...'. The sign of v. 22 seems to have been interpreted as referring to the fig therapy in the preceding verse. This interpretation may shed light on the verse order in Ed (vv. 22–21): the question of Hezekiah (v. 22) therefore is put before the answer given by the prophet (v. 21). Since the translator of the Peshitta of Isaiah made use of the Septuagint it may well be that the different verse order was part of the original text. But, admittedly, one cannot exclude the possibility that the interpretation involved gave rise to the order in Ed (vv. 22–21) at a later stage, the more so since the order of vv. 21–22 is attested not only by 9a1 but also by 5ph1.

(5) Isa 49:8 ܩܝܡܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ] om 5ph1 9a1

This shared variant seems to be in agreement with MT as Brock assumes, but on closer inspection this is not the case. MT reads, לברית עם, 'a covenant to the people', whereas the actual text of 5ph1 and 9a1 is different here: 'a covenant for the nations'. The latter expression is a striking one since it differs from the two well-known phrases attested in the Hebrew text of Isaiah, viz. 'a covenant to the people' (42:6; 49:8) and 'a light for the nations' (42:6; 49:6). As the longer version of Ed is in agreement with Isa 42:6 (MT לברית עם לאור גוים) it may be seen as due to harmonisation. This raises the question of when the harmonisation might have taken place. Was this at the time the translation was made, or at some stage in the transmission history of the Peshitta of Isaiah? In my view, the latter possibility is more plausible than the former. Although the (shorter) text of 5ph1 and 9a1 does not agree with MT, it can be considered the original one since it agrees with the Septuagint (εἰς διαθήκην ἐθνῶν). The plus in P then represents a later addition to the text, just as is the case in part of the Septuagint tradition (γένους εἰς φῶς).

[12] See H.G.M. Williamson, 'Hezekiah and the Temple', in M.V. Fox et al. (eds.), *Texts, Temples, and Traditions. A Tribute to Menahem Haran* (Winona Lake, 1996), 47–52.

Both cases (Isa 38:21–22 and 49:8) are significant indeed as 9a1, together with 5ph1, may testify to the original reading. However, whereas this is far from certain in 38:21–22, the case of 49:8 turns out not to be an example of the MT criterion. On the contrary, the text of 49:8 as attested by 5ph1 and 9a1 reflects the original reading on the basis of what may be called the Septuagint criterion.

The last example I would like to discuss is another case which at first sight seems to belong to the category of readings in agreement with MT, but which on closer examination raises some questions.

(6) Isa 49:4 ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܕܐܡܪ] om 9a1*fam*

In comparison to MT, Ed has a plus ('to the seed of Jacob') which is not attested by 9a1. Thus one might argue that 9a1 is a witness to the original text. However, if the immediate context is taken into account, the situation becomes somewhat more complicated.

The plus in P is part of the beginning of v. 4 which reads in MT as follows:

'But I said, I have laboured in vain . . .'

According to Ed this passage reads thus:

'I did not (ܠܐ) say to the seed of Jacob, I have laboured in vain . . .'

Unlike MT, in Ed the servant of the Lord did *not* say that he had laboured in vain. The reading ܠܐ is attested by all available old MSS of the Peshitta of Isaiah, including 9a1. It therefore seems difficult to assume that the minus of 9a1 ('the seed of Jacob') would reflect the original text whereas this does not apply to the beginning of the verse. Moreover, the text of Ed has a parallel in 45:19: 'I did *not* say *to the seed of Jacob*, Seek me in chaos' (MT; cf Ed ['in chaos' (תהו) has been rendered as in 49:4 (ܒܫܘܝܐ)!]). So it seems that, for one reason or another, the text of 49:4 has been rendered in line with 45:19.[13] This suggests that the wording of Ed in 49:4—including the negation together with the expression 'to the seed of Jacob'—is the primary one. The minus in 9a1 may have been due to a secondary omission.[14] It is noteworthy that there are other cases of a secondary omission (consisting of more than one word) in 9a1, for example, Isa 6:13 and 25:6.

[13] It may well be that this was related to a Christian interpretation of the passage; see Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen*, 278. For a recent discussion of the verse, see G. Greenberg, 'Indications of the Faith of the Translation in the Peshitta to the "Servant Songs" of Deutero-Isaiah', *AS* 2 (2004), 181–183.

[14] A revision after MT does not seem plausible; cf. Weitzman, 'Originality', 239.

2. *Conclusion*

Although MS 9a1 is important for the textual history of P–Isaiah, its value as a witness of the earliest (attainable) text is limited indeed.[15] The MT criterion does apply in some cases (see 38:21–22 [?]), but not in others (49:8). As may be clear from the discussion above other considerations should be taken into account, even in cases of 'MT readings' which at first sight may seem to represent the original text. Of particular interest, in my view, is the role of the Septuagint. An interesting case in which the Septuagint criterion applies, is 49:8. On the other hand, it is also possible that the Septuagint gave rise to variant readings at some stage in the transmission history of the Peshitta of Isaiah (see 38:21–22; 65:14). Further research into the readings in 9a1 and other MSS of the Peshitta of Isaiah is, of course, needed in order to reach the goal of a critically assessed text of this book. It is a great pleasure to offer this contribution to Konrad Jenner since he was the one who took the initiative in planning a critical edition of the Old Testament Peshitta, to date, one of the projects of the Peshitta Institute at Leiden.[16]

[15] Cf. M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament. An Introduction* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56; Cambridge, 1999), 284.

[16] I am grateful to Dr M.E.J. Richardson for the correction of the English of this contribution.

THE ENIGMA OF THE LECTIONARY MS 10L1: CHANGE OF *VORLAGE* IN BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS

*Marinus D. Koster**

1. *Introduction*

There are moments in your life that you will never forget. Our daughter was born in Leiden during the very cold winter of 1962/63, on the night between Christmas and Boxing Day, in the 'Diaconessen' Hospital, then on the Witte Singel. This hospital was later moved to another site in Leiden, and on its site the new University Library was built, together with adjacent University buildings, such as the Faculty of Theology. Since 1982 the Peshitta Institute has been housed there, on the second flour.

Konrad Jenner has resided here, from the beginning until the present day, at first together with Piet Dirksen as director until his retirement (in 1993), and from then on as Director of the Institute himself. In the next room the professor of Old Testament was at his elbow: Martin Mulder, successor of Piet de Boer, and after him Arie van der Kooij.

The day after our daughter was born I met that kindest of teachers, Professor Taeke Jansma (then editor of Genesis in the Leiden Peshitta, next to 'my' Exodus), in the snow on the Rapenburg in the neighbourhood of the former building of the University Library. I shall never forget the radiant smile with which I was congratulated by Taeke. His own daughter had been born a few years earlier, so he perfectly understood my jubilant mood.

The former Peshitta Institute was situated not far from there, at Rapenburg 46, where Konrad and his colleague, Maarten van Vliet, were installed as assistants of Prof. de Boer, mainly to work on the Peshitta. Their work had begun, in 1971, at the Snouck Hurgronje Huis, Rapenburg 61, where the original site of the Leiden Peshitta had been set up in the kitchen: the 'Peshitta Werkkamer' (owing to financial considerations, that humble place never was to be called 'Institute').[1]

* My warmest thanks are to Dr Gillian Greenberg, who spent so much of her precious time on carefully perusing my text and thoroughly correcting it into readable English. Any traces of translation English left are my own, not her responsibility.

[1] 'The broom cupboard', as it was affectionately referred to by Michael Weitzman (communication by Dr Gillian Greenberg).

What had begun for Konrad as a side-issue (his main interest initially was in Phenomenology and Psychology of religion, inspired as he was by Fokke Sierksma), became a life-long occupation which he has followed with great perseverance and equanimity. For years now he has been at the centre of the growing world wide web of Peshitta connections. When I studied the introductions to the various parts and fascicles of the Leiden Peshitta edition, in the course of preparing Section 3 of this paper, I was struck by the multitude of acknowledgements that were made—indeed, by almost every author—to Dr. K.D. Jenner, for help of various kinds that he had given on behalf of the Peshitta Institute.

As for myself, every time I have visited the Institute during the past thirty years I have been received with the same kindness and hospitality. Many subjects of Peshitta interest were discussed, valuable assistance was given and the latest stories were told. Sometimes Konrad would confess: 'Toen was ik woedend' (Then I was furious), but I doubt if his 'fury' ever passed beyond its intellectual conception into a real outburst of anger.

The award of his doctorate in 1993, for his thesis on the pericope titles of MS 8a1 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Syriaques 341) as a means to investigate the lectionary system(s) of the ancient Syrian church, was a very special occasion. At that time I first met Konrad's spirited and courageous wife Irene and their children.

Konrad shared his interest in the lectionaries with Wim Baars, the first central figure in the Leiden Peshitta edition under the aegis of Prof. P.A.H. de Boer. Between 1960 and 1965 I was their assistant, primarily engaged in the administration of the microfilm collection of the MSS, in combination with the preparation of the *List of Old Testament Peshiṭta Manuscripts* and the edition of Peshitta Exodus. From time to time Wim would help me with my own work, as well as taking full responsibility for the administration of the lectionary MSS.

The moment when Wim first put the microfilm of the lectionary MS 10l1 on the microfilm reader in our part of the kitchen of Rapenburg 61 was another unforgettable event. It was a section from Exodus 17, Joshua's defeat of Amalek, and I immediately recognized a number of the—until then—unique variant readings of MS 5b1, the MS which formed the focal point for my interpretation of the transmission of the text of Peshitta Gen-Exod (and, by inference, of the text of the whole Pentateuch). This was great news: from now on the specific character of MS 5b1, whose agreements with the Hebrew basic text (MT) far outweighed those seen in any other MS, was no longer an isolated phenomenon but was shared with a MS from a totally different background.

On closer inspection, it appeared that the agreement between MSS 5b1 and 10l1 is largely confined to those variant readings that are also in agreement with the Masoretic Text. In most of the cases where they do not share each other's unique readings, these readings are at the same time in disagreement with MT. Moreover, in Exod 31:4 5b1 still reads ܟܣܦܐ(ܕܐ) for כסף 'silver' (as a metal), whereas 10l1 has ܟܣܦܐ(ܕܐ), as in all other later MSS. There can, therefore, be no question of separate branches within the transmission of the text of P Exodus (namely a 'ܟܣܦܐ' and a 'ܟܣܦܐ' recension): both 5b1 and 10l1 independently represent a genuinely earlier stage of the text which still stands nearer to its Hebrew original, in Exodus at least.[2]

These observations hold good for all three lections of MS 10l1 that were taken from Exodus: Exod 17:8–16, 19:1–25 and 30:22–31:11. This raised a question concerning the other lessons in 10l1 taken from the Old Testament. It seemed probable that they too would be in the same characteristic ancient text form as that found in Exodus. As I had never heard this point raised, or read any discussion of it, either in the introductions to the separate volumes of the Leiden edition, or anywhere else, I decided to search for an answer to this long standing question as my contribution to this volume in honour of Konrad Jenner. But, alas, the answer appeared to be purely negative!

This negative answer is shown by a study of the value of 10l1 as a textual witness of the Peshitta in Old Testament books other than Exodus. It concerns the following lections: Gen 1:1; 2:4; 6:9–9:19; 11:26–12:8; 15:1–17:8; 18:1–19:30; 22:1–19; 27:1; 28:22; 37:2; 39:21; Josh 3:1–7; 1 Sam 16:1(b)–13(a); Prov 1:10–19, 20–33; 3:27(?); 4:10; 8:1–11; 9:1–11; 10:1; Isa 3:9(b)–15; 5:1–7(a); 40:1–8, 9; 49:13–18; 50:4–9(a); 52:6–12, 13–53:3 [followed by a lacuna]; 61:1–6 [+ 61:1]; Hos 4:1–12; 5:13–6:6; 7:13–8:1; Amos 8:9–12; Zech 9:9–14; 11:11(b)–13:9 [+ 11:11(b)–14].[3]

Some preliminary remarks:

(1) Purely orthographic variants are not discussed here, nor are the numerous places at which the 3rd person plural of the verb is

[2] Cf. M.D. Koster, *The Peshiṭta of Exodus. The Development of its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries* (SSN 19; Assen–Amsterdam, 1977), 37–38, 72, 96–101, 186, 213 (!), 506–507.

[3] Cf the introductions to the separate volumes of the Leiden Peshitta edition, *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version* 1.1. *Gen–Exod* (1977), xxxvii–xxxviii; [1.2 +] 2.1b. [*Lev–Deut* +] *Josh* (1991), xv; 2.2. [*Judg* +] 1–2 *Sam* (1978), xv (N.B. 10l1 should be added *ad* F) on page iii, Contents); 2.5. *Prov* [+ *Wisd–Qoh–Cant*] (1979), xxxviii; 3.1. *Isa* (1987), xxxiii; 3.4. *Dod* [+ *Dan–BelDr*] (1980), xxvii.

written without final Waw, as against the majority of the MSS. This peculiar feature of MS 10l1 is seen for example at Gen 11:29 ܢܣܟܗ] ܢܣܟ 10l1 (in this case, by chance, = MT ויקח [subject אברם ונחור]).[4]

(2) The text of MS 10l1 has been marred by rather numerous cases of omission by homoeoteleuton (*om homoe*).[5]

(3) I had intended to return to my earlier interest and to collate all the Old Testament texts mentioned above again from the microfilm of 10l1 itself. It appeared however that, apart from a few unimportant additions and corrections, this fresh check yielded no substantial information. Moreover, the quality of the microfilm is rather poor and the text of the MS is difficult to read, as it is a palimpsest (the under-text being MS 6ph2, containing portions of the books of Kings). I therefore decided, having finished the lessons of Genesis, to bring this exercise to an end, in order to save time as well as my eyesight. These are, after all, the most important portions, because the peculiar text of MS 5b1 pertains only at Genesis and Exodus. My evidence for all the other lections, those from Proverbs and from the former and latter Prophets, has been taken solely from the second apparatus of the Leiden edition.[6]

2. *The Lections of 10l1 from Genesis*

The quotations from *Gen 1:1* and *2:4* concern three or four words only: ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐ ܐܬܪܥܐ and ܫܒܝܥܝܐ ܫܒܬܐ ܫܡܝܢ ܘܐܪܥ ܠܝܠܝ.[7] There are no variants either in 10l1 or in 8/5b1.

The next section, *Gen 6:9–9:19*, the story of the flood,[8] is interesting because in the second part, from 7:20 onwards, the original MS 5b1 is

[4] Not recorded in App. II (the second apparatus) of the Leiden edition, *The Old Testament in Syriac* 1.1, 20.

[5] In the following verses: Gen 6:15; 7:2b (not 7:2a, as indicated in the edition, *ibid.*, xxxviii); 7:18–19; 8:4; 9:10; 11:27; 15:3; 17:8 and 19:16, 20. N.B.: the omission of 15:3 (in fact 15:3 ܒܪܡ —— 15:4 ܒܪܡ] *om homoe* 10l1, cf. 15:2 ܒܪܡ ܒܪܡ [*homoeoarc*]), should have been recorded in the list of 'omissions of a mechanical nature' on page xxxviii, not together with the contents of 10l1 on page xxxvii.

[6] In the following survey, LXX is used for the Septuagint, P for the Peshitta (*U* for the Urmia-edition), Sam for the Samaritan Pentateuch, T for the Targum(im), V for the Vulgate. By putting 'omission' (of one or more words) between inverted commas I want to indicate that I consider the text of P without these words as original; they were added only afterwards, during the inner-Syriac process of transmission of the text through the MSS into the later stages of 'BTR' and 'TR'.

[7] In the table of contents of MS 10l1 on page xxxvii the order of the first and last Syriac words has been reversed, as was the ܬ of ܫܡܝܐ.

[8] The *incipit* of 10l1's lections reveals nothing of interest about the text: it is said only ܫܢܬ ܟ, which is usually preceded by ܒܪܫ.

extant for the first time. Before 7:20 the variant readings of the later addition 8/5b1 provide a small number of agreements with MT, some of greater importance than others: 6:17 omission of ܘܡ, 6:19 addition of ܡܢ ܟܠ after ܚܝܐ, 7:1 ܐܝܬܝ (= MT) instead of ܐܡܪ (= Sam; LXX adds ὁ θεός; in 7:16 8/5b1 again has ܐܝܬܝ instead of ܐܡܪ, but here :: MT), 7:13 ܗܘ ܒܥܨܡܐ (= MT) instead of ܒܥܨܡܐ (= LXX). In none of these does 10l1 share the variant of 8/5b1 (= MT), nor does it share the remaining variants of 8/5b1, in 6:16, 22 and 7:6, 11, 16 (see above) and 19 (omission of second ܟܠ, :: MT מאד מאד; 10l1 adds a second ܟܠ in vs. 18, again :: MT).

On the other hand most unique readings in 10l1 are of little importance, and none of them is shared by 8/5b1; these are to be found in Gen 6:16 (twice; *status emphaticus* instead of anticipatory suffix [*bis*]), 6:19 (addition of ܒܚܕ, :: MT), 7:3 (1°) (omission of Waw *copulativum* from ܘܥܘܦ, = MT גם), 7:11 (*om* ܒܫܢ, :: MT), 16 (addition of ܒܥܨܡܐ = 7a1, but :: MT), 18 (addition of second ܟܠ, see above).

What remains is the interesting variant reading Gen 7:3 (2°) ܡܢ) ܕܟܝܐ (ܕܟܝܦ 'clean (birds)' in 10l1, and many other lectionaries and later MSS (11/9b1 10b1, 12a1*fam* 12b1 →, cf. *U*, :: MT), instead of ܡܢ) ܕܫܡܝܐ (ܕܛܝܦ '(birds) of heaven' of the ancient MSS (including 8/5b1, = MT השמים [מעוף]); here LXX and Sam *add* the equivalent of הטהור to the text of MT.[9]

In Gen 7:20–9:19, where 5b1 is present, it shows a number of agreements with MT, many of which are of some importance; for instance: 8:1 'omission' of ܕܛܝܦ ܫܠܚܘ, 8:9 'omission' of ܫܠ, 8:12 'omission' of ܘܐ, and 8:21 'omission' of ܕܒܠܒܗ ܒܝܫܝ, 8:18 transposition of two nouns, 8:19 ܒܝܫܝ for ܕܒܚܪ, 8:20 ܕܒܚܪ for ܕܒܗܡܬ; also 8:10 and 17 omission of Waw *copulativum*, 9:11 and 16 omission of ܠ, and 9:15 prefixing of Waw *copulativum* (the omission of ܕ before ܒܣܪ in the same verse, however, is an example of disagreement with MT אשר ביני). In none of these cases the reading of 5b1 in agreement with MT is shared by MS 10l1.[10] The picture here, then, is quite different from that of the close relationship of 10l1 with 5b1 in its three lessons from Exodus, when both agree with MT.

The only interesting variant reading of 10l1 in this portion is again shared by many lectionaries and the later MSS ('TR'), but not by 5b1: 7:20 addition of ܒܝܬ to ܪܡܐ ܛܘܪܐ '(the waters covered) the *high* mountains'

[9] Cf. *BHS ad loc.* and Gen 8:20 (MT).

[10] As to 5b1's variant reading in 9:16 it is erroneously stated in the second apparatus that it is shared by 10l1. In fact it omits the second Lamadh instead of the first. The reading ܗܠܗ (for ܗܠܗܠ) should be recorded together with the errors of 10l1 in the introduction, page xxxviii. On page 16 of the edition 19 ܐܠܗ 2°] ܐܠܗ 10l1 should be added to App. II.

(:: MT, but LXX also adds τὰ ὑψηλά, cf. *BHS ad loc.*). The remaining unique readings of 10l1 (omission of ܐܒܪܗܡ in 7:21 and of ܐܒܪܗܡ 2° in 8:9, and transposition of two words in 8:9) are in agreement neither with MT nor with 5b1 and probably are to be considered errors, as is the omission of four words in 9:10.

In the next section, *Gen 11:26–12:8*, on Terah, and the call of Abram, 5b1 is represented by a tenth-century copyist (10/5b1). At two places it agrees with MT against the whole MS tradition of the Peshitta: in 11:26 it omits ܫܒܥܝܢ, so that Terah was seventy, not seventy-five years old when he became the father of Abram, Nahor and Haran; in 12:6 ܗܘ ܟܢܥܢܝ (which made the rather terse Hebrew construction more fluent in Syriac) is still absent in 10/5b1. In both cases 10l1 agrees with the majority reading of P (:: MT). In 11:29, 10l1 again (as in 9:10), probably erroneously, leaves out four words, with no support (:: MT). In 12:7, 10l1 and 11/9l3 add ܠ before ܐܪܥܐ (cf. MT את הארץ).

Again, in the section *Gen 15:1–17:8*, the covenant with Abram, and Hagar's story, comparison can be made between 10l1 and the original MS 5b1. In nine cases 5b1 is in agreement with MT, against all other MSS, including 10l1: in 15:4 MT והנה דבר יהוה אליו לאמר, which appears in shorter form in the later Peshitta MSS as ܗܘܐ ܠܡ ܐܡܪ, was still rendered by 5b1, almost literally, with ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܡܬܟܠܡ ܥܡܗ ܐܡܪ ܠܡ;[11] in the same verse, 5b1 with ܡܢ ܕܢܦܩ correctly enough renders MT אשר יצא, in the later Peshitta MSS, however, it was made explicit by ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ; 15:9 transposition of ܠܝ and ܘܥܙ; 'omission' of Waw *copulativum* from 15:18 ܠܐܒܪܗܡ (cf. MT עד), and 'omission' of ܠܐܒܪܡ and ܠܐܒܪܗܡ in 16:6, and of ܠܡ ܠܐܒܪܡ and of ܠܡ 2° in 16:15; and, finally, 17:6, the reading ܡܢܟ, in agreement with MT ממך; here (with ܡܢ ܥܡܟ), as well as in the other eight cases referred to, 10l1 agrees with the majority reading.

5b1 and 10l1 agree twice in this section; at both passages, however, they disagree with MT: in 15:18 they read ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ instead of ܡܢ ܢܗܪ (1°) (cf. MT מנהר), and in 17:2 both omit the repetition of ܒܝܬ (with 9l1; 5b1 and 12b2 have the same error in v. 6). However, the remaining unique readings of 5b1 do not reappear in 10l1 (these are: 15:7, addition of ܐܠܗܐ; omission of ,ܐܠܗܐ in 17:1 and ܒܝܬ 2° in 17:6 [see above]—all of these disagree with MT—and, also in 17:6, reversed order of two words, of which one is wanting in MT). At the same time, 10l1's many unique

[11] The reverse happened in Exod 14:1, cf. *The Old Testament in Syriac* 1.1, 148, and Koster, *Peshitta of Exodus*, 57 (bottom).

readings are not found in 5b1 (almost all :: MT; e.g. 15:10 again omission of four words [cf. *ad* 9:10 and 11:29]; 15:13 addition of ܐܪܥܐ;[12] 16:3 '20' instead of '10'; 16:7 ܒܐܪ instead of ܒܪ (cf. MT עין); 16:8 omission of ܐܡܪ;[13] 16:11 ܫܡܠ instead of ܐܪܥ; 16:15 *tr(ansposition)*; 17:6 addition of ܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܓܪ before ܒܪܟܬ, like P [as a whole] in vv. 4 and 5, where however it agrees with MT).[14]

In the next lection, *Gen 18:1–19:30*, the divine visit at Mamre, and the ordeal of Sodom, the original MS 5b1 is again extant. In this section the MS has fourteen unique readings in agreement with MT, none of which is shared by 10l1: 'omission' of ܠܐ ܡܛܐ in 18:6, of ܐܡ in 18:10, of ܫܒܩܢ in 18:14 (5b1* *vid*), of ܠܐ in 19:3 and 7,[15] of ܒܝܬ in 19:14, of ܡ, (1° and 2°) in 19:20, and of ܡܢ 1° in 19:30; reading in 18:20 ܒܝܬ ܣܕܘܡ ܘܥܡܪܗ (ܪܒܬ ܣܓܝ) instead of ܟܠ ܣܕܡ, (cf. v. 21!),[16] in 19:16 ܓܒܪܐ (= MT האנשים) instead of ܒܥܠܝ, in 19:25 ܟܠ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ (ܐܬ ܟܠ ישבי] = MT הערים]) instead of ܒܝܬ, and in 18:19 sg. (ܘܢܛܪ) ܢܛܪܘ (= MT [יהוה] דרך) instead of the plural ܢܛܪܘܗܝ; and, finally, adding in 18:25 ܐܝܟ before ܟܕ ܓܒܪ (= MT כדבר), and in 19:29 ܠ before ܒܝܬ ܡܢ 1° (= MT את ערי).

The following unique readings of 5b1 are not in agreement with MT: 18:22 ܣܕܡ ܡܢ instead of ܒܝܬ ܡܢ (MT לפני יהוה), and, conversely, 19:29 ܒܝܬ instead of ܐܡܪ 2° (MT אלהים twice); 19:9 transposition of ܠܡ ܓܒܪ and ܠܐ (:: MT באיש בלוט); omission of ܡܢ 1° (18:29; in MT an equivalent for ܡܢ 2° is wanting), and of Waw *copulativum* from ܘܐܒܪܗܡ (:: MT ועד; 19:11); addition of ܬ after ܐܒܪܗܡ (18:15), of ܠ before ܒܝܬ (MT הפתח, without את; 19:11), of ܐܒܝ after ܐܢ (19:12), and of Waw *copulativum* before ܐܦ (:: MT גם; 19:21). None of these nine readings of 5b1 is shared by 10l1.

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[12] Not of ܐܡܪ, as recorded in the edition, 26, *ad* 15:13.

[13] Not recorded in App. II of the edition, on page 27.

[14] From time to time there seem to be clusters of variants (both in agreement and in disagreement with MT), for instance at 15:4 and 17:6.

[15] Erroneously printed as ܐܠ in App. II of the edition (33, *ad loc.*).

[16] This is an interesting example of intertextual confusion: MT reads in 18:21 הבאה אלי (הכצעקתה), correctly translated by P (as a whole) with ܘܐܬܐ (ܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܐ) ܡ, ܐܠ [*var. l.* ܡܢ 12a1*fam* →]; but in 19:13 MT כי גדלה צעקתם את פני יהוה (cf. 18:20 כי רבה) was translated by P (as a whole) with ܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܣܕܡ (!) ܘܫܠܚ ܠܢ. Probably this rendering of P in 19:13 (and even that of 18:20 BTR) was influenced not only by 18:21, but also by the more familiar utterances about the (out)cry of the people of Israel in Exod 2:23 ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ, cf. 3:7 ܒܥܩܬ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܝ and 3:9 ܘܥܩܬ ܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܐܬܬ ܠܝ (no variant readings). Cf. P.G. Borbone and K.D. Jenner (eds.), *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version* 5. *Concordance* 1. *The Pentateuch* (Leiden, 1997), 195 (*s.v.* ܐܡܪ).

There are two unique readings of 10l1 in this section that are in agreement with MT; they are not shared, however, by 5b1. These are: omission of ܒܡܘܬܐ (18:29), and of ܠ ܥܡ (19:7).[17] The same is true of the many unique readings (often errors) in 10l1 which are in disagreement with MT: addition of ܐܡܪ after ܒܟ (18:1), of ܠܚܡ after ܐܡܪ (18:13; cf. v. 12!), of ܠܐ after ܒܝܕ (18:15), of ܘܐܠ after ܠܗ (19:2), of ܘ after ܐܦܢܘ (19:22), and of ܘܠܐ after ܡܫܟܒ (19:26);[18] a transposition in 18:22; omission of Waw *copulativum* from ܘܐ (19:12) and from ܘܐܠ (19:14); and the readings of 10l1 in 18:6, 18:15, 18:24 and 18:26 registered as errors in the introduction to the edition (xxxviii).

Only once in this section do 5b1 and 10l1, together with 9l1 11l1 and 12a1 →, agree in a variant reading: 19:1 ܠܐܟܠܟ instead of ܠܐܟܠܝ (MT המלאכים).[19]

In the fifth and last substantial lection from Genesis, *Gen 22:1–19*, Isaac's offering, MS 5b1 is again represented by the replacement 8/5b1. It has two variant readings in agreement with MT, neither of which is shared by 10l1: 22:7 omission of ܐܢ, and 22:11 reading (ܐܠܐܟܐ) ܘܐܡܪ (= MT יהוה [מלאך]) instead of ܘܐܡܪ.[20] Ms 10l1 adds ܐܢ to 22:7 (after ܐܡܪ), and omits ܠ 1° from 22:2; neither of these variants is in agreement with MT, nor are they shared by 8/5b1.

10l1 and 8/5b1 do share the variant ܘܠܐ ܢܫܩ instead of ܢܫܩ ܠܐ in 22:6. However, in v. 3 both have ܠܐ in the same expression, together with P as a whole. MT reads עצי (ה)עלה both times; this was translated by RSV in v. 3 with 'the wood *for* the burnt offering', but in v. 6 with 'the wood *of* the burnt offering', as if either 8/5b1 or 10l1 had been consulted!

In the quotations of *Gen 27:1 + 28:22*, and of *37:2 + 39:21* the only deviations are a small number of variants in 10l1: 28:22 ܠܟܠ instead of ܘܐ (MT וכל); and in 37:2 addition of ܐܡܪ after ܐܫܟܠ, and omission of ܠܡ ܫܪܐ, between ܐܡܪ ܠܝ and ܠܡ, the last word of the quotation.

In summary: the evidence concerning 10l1 from its five substantial lessons from Genesis is unequivocal: there is no relationship whatsoever

[17] Neither is recorded in App. II of the edition, but both are registered as errors in the introduction (xxxviii). In 19:2 10l1, together with other lectionaries and later MSS, prefixes Waw *copulativum* to ܠܘ, in agreement with MT.

[18] Not recorded in App. II of the edition.

[19] Other variant readings of this type, but then peculiar to either 5b1 or 10l1, have not been registered here.

[20] Cf. P (as a whole) in 22:15: ܐܡܪ ܠܐܟܐ. N.B.: a number of readings peculiar to 8/5b1 but in disagreement with MT have not been registered here.

of 10l1 with 5b1 and its additions 8/5b1 and 10/5b1. The specific character of MS 5b1 in Exodus, namely that it is much nearer to the Hebrew (MT) than all other MSS of P, is manifest also in Genesis, even—to some extent—in its later additions.[21] There are, however, no surprising agreements with 5b1 (= MT) in the lessons from Genesis in 10l1, even though they abound in its three lessons from Exodus. There is only one shared variant reading of any importance in Genesis: Gen 15:18 has the very sensible reading ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕ 5b1 10l1 instead of ܕ ܢܗܪܐ (1°), 'from the *land* (of Egypt)' instead of 'from the river', but this is not in agreement with MT מנהר. Moreover, this shared reading easily could be due to *polygenesis* in view of the popularity of the expression, rather than indicating a true relationship.[22]

3. *The Lections of 10l1 from Other Books of the Old Testament*

The negative picture of the relationship of 10l1 with 5b1 in Genesis does not change when the remaining Old Testament lections of 10l1 are also considered. The role of MS 5b1 as a testimony to the earliest attainable stage is then taken by MS 9a1, the *Codex Florentinus*, which covers most of the books of the Old Testament, with the exception of Job and Proverbs. Moreover, the original text of Genesis, Exodus, and half of Leviticus as well as that of the greater part of the Dodekapropheton (from Hos 14:6 onwards), Daniel–Bel–Draco, the 'book of women', and Ezra–Nehemiah is missing.[23] Sebastian Brock gives an excellent description of MS 9a1: it 'probably represents a text form which separated from the mainstream tradition at an early date and subsequently underwent independent developments'. Therefore, some of its very large number of variants 'are clearly ancient (having <in Isaiah> the occasional support of 5ph1) and they may at times alone preserve the original Peshitta text' (while, generally speaking, those readings which disagree with MT testify to a process of deterioration—due to the transmission of the text through its 'parent' MSS [now lost]—which is essentially the same

[21] Cf. J. Pinkerton, 'The Origin and the Early History of the Syriac Pentateuch', *JThS* 15 (1914), 14–41.

[22] For the concept of *polygenesis*, cf. M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament. An Introduction* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56; Cambridge, 1999), 13, 69–70, 86, 90, 92–95, etc., and, for the expression ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܥܕ ܢܚܠܐ, Borbone and Jenner, *Concordance*, *s.vv.*, 111–122 in combination with 874–875.

[23] The text of Genesis (up to Gen 34:15) and of the whole of Dodekapropheton (from Hos 14:6 onwards) to Ezra/Nehemiah were restored by much later hands, cf. *List of Old Testament Peshiṭta Manuscripts (Preliminary Issue)* (Leiden, 1961), 9.

process as the mainstream itself underwent during the whole course of its development to the later stages, M.D.K.).[24]

In the short lesson from *Joshua 3:1–7* MS 9a1 has three unique readings, of which two agree with MT: 3:1 ܚܢ instead of ܘܚܒܐ and 3:6 ܗܠܐ instead of ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ 2°. 10l1 disagrees with both readings as well as with 9a1's variant in 3:4 (:: MT).

In *1 Samuel 16:1b–13a* MS 9a1 omits ܘܫܕܪ in v. 4, in agreement with MT. This 'omission' is not shared by 10l1, nor is that of ܠ in v. 3 (9a1, :: MT); but 9a1 and 10l1 (together with 9l4) do share a transposition of two words in v. 8, but that one is not in agreement with MT. There are four unique readings (some of them errors?) in 10l1: addition of a word in vv. 3 and 4, and omission of (a) word(s) in vv. 11 and 12; they are not in agreement with MT and are not shared by 9a1.

The text of *P-Proverbs* is to some extent exceptional. Joosten dealt with its many doublet translations; Weitzman, following Nöldeke, pointed to its close relation with the Targum, which, in his opinion, was derived from it.[25] My own assessment of P-Proverbs is that the translation is rather free, but in this case there is no MS representing the oldest attainable stage as in other books, as MS 9a1 is missing here. It is therefore impossible to know whether this free character goes back as

[24] S.P. Brock (ed.), *The Old Testament in Syriac* 3.1. *Isaiah* (Leiden, 1987), Introduction, viii. Cf. the thorough study Michael Weitzman made of this MS: M.P. Weitzman, *A Statistical Approach to Textual Criticism, with special reference to the Peshitta of the Old Testament* (unpublished thesis, two volumes; London, 1973); idem, 'The Originality of Unique Readings in Peshiṭta MS 9a1', in P.B. Dirksen and M.J. Mulder (eds.), *The Peshiṭta: its Early Text and History. Papers read at the Peshiṭta Symposium held at Leiden 30-31 August 1985* (MPIL 4; Leiden, 1988), 225–258; and, idem, *Syriac Version*, 280–287, 290–291, 314–316, 320–321 (and *passim*).

See also Donald M. Walter's valuable remarks on 9a1 in his introduction (dated December 18th, 1978) to the edition of the Book of Psalms, in which he refers to Weitzman's dissertation: D.M. Walter (ed., in collaboration with Adalbert Vogel † and R.Y. Ebied), *The Old Testament in Syriac* 2.3 (Leiden, 1980), xx–xxi; and idem, 'The Use of Sources in the Peshiṭta of Kings', in P.B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij (eds.), *The Peshitta as a Translation. Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19–21 August 1993* (MPIL 8; Leiden, 1995), 187–204.

[25] J. Joosten, 'Doublet Translations in Peshitta Proverbs', in Dirksen and Van der Kooij, *The Peshitta as a Translation*, 63–72; Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 90, 109–110. For a description of the MSS and a discussion of their value and interrelationship see also the Introduction by Alexander A. Di Lella, O.F.M., to the edition of Proverbs prepared by him: *The Old Testament in Syriac* 2.5. *Proverbs* (Leiden, 1979), viii–xxxiv.

far as the work of the translator or whether it developed only during the inner-Syriac process of transmission.[26]

In the lessons containing the text of *Chapter 1*, from v. 10 onwards, 10l1 once (1:20), together with 12a1*fam* →, agrees with MT by omitting *seyame*; in 1 :24, however, it does not share the variant reading ܐܡܪ of 8a1 and some other MSS, which is in agreement with MT (for ܐܡܪ: 7a1 10l1 and all other MSS). Surprisingly, in *8:1–11* it agrees with 8a1 and other ancient MSS (6h16 7h6) in three agreements with MT: 'omission' of ܘܚܟܡ in v. 3, and of ܠܝ in v. 9, and reading (also in v. 9) sing. instead of plur. Moreover, both 10l1's small variants in *9:1–11* are in agreement with MT (once together with 8a1 and twice with 7h6): adding suffix Yudh in v. 4, and reading Waw *copulativum* (instead of ܕ) in v. 9.

However, I am afraid that these few examples do not amount to sufficient evidence to establish the text of 10l1 in Proverbs alongside its striking counterpart in Exodus.

The position of MS 9a1 as an important witness of the earliest stage of the text of *P-Isaiah* was pointed out by Diettrich at the beginning of the last century and, more recently, by Brock, who also had at his disposal the palimpsest 5ph1, the oldest *dated* MS that is known, older by four years than MS 5b1.[27] However, only a small number of the unique readings of 9a1 and 5ph1 are to be found in the parts of the text of Isaiah recorded in the lections of 10l1: *Isa 3:9–15; 5:1–7; 40:1–9; 49:13–18; 50:4–9; 52:6–53:3 [lacuna]; 61:1–6*.

Only twice do 9a1 and 10l1 share a variant, on both occasions in agreement with MT: 5:2 prefixing, together with 6h13 8a1 and other

[26] I recently discussed this matter in '"Translation or Transmission? That is the Question". The Use of the Leiden O.T. Peshitta Edition', in *'Basel und Bibel'. Collected Communications to the XVIIth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Basel 2001* (BEAT 51; Frankfurt am Main, 2004), 297–312. Ranking MS 9a1 with the witnesses of the 'earliest attainable text' (I put it there in the figure on page 312), does not mean that I am unaware of the complicated textual history behind that MS, as described by Brock (see above, *ad* n. 24).

In this connection, I should have made mention, in addition to the articles by Dirksen and Lund, of Yeshayahu Maori's paper read at the second Peshitta Symposium: 'Methodological Criteria for Distinguishing between Variant *Vorlage* and Exegesis in the Peshitta Pentateuch', of Robert P. Gordon's response to it ('Variant *Vorlage[n]* and the Exegetical Factor'), and Maori's 'Remarks on R.P. Gordon's Response', in Dirksen and Van der Kooij, *The Peshitta as a Translation*, 103–128.

[27] G. Diettrich, *Ein Apparatus criticus zur Pešitto zum Propheten Jesaia* (BZAW 8; Giessen 1905), xxxii; S.P. Brock, 'Text History and Text Division in Peshiṭta Isaiah', in Dirksen and Mulder, *The Peshiṭta: its Early Text and History*, 49–80 (50–65, 78–80).

MSS, Waw *copulativum* to ܘܓܡ (= MT וגם), and 61:3 reading, together with 9l4, ܕܡܫܬܐ (ܡܫܬܐ) '(oil of) feasting' (cf. MT ששון [שמן] '[oil of] rejoicing') instead of ܕܡܫܚܐ (ܡܫܚܐ) 'pleasant (oil)'.

In addition to these, MS 9a1 has variant readings in agreement with MT in 3:10 (prefixing ܕ to ܛܒ, cf. MT כי טוב), and in 53:1 (reading ܥܠ ܡܢ [= MT מי על] instead of ܠܡܢ). These are not shared by 10l1, nor are a small number of other, mostly insignificant unique readings of 9a1, in 5:3, 4; 40:2; 52:11, 12; 53:5; 61:6.

There is only one unique reading of 10l1 that is in agreement with MT, 3:9 addition of ܐܠܗ after ܕܒܥܠ (not shared by 9a1). Almost all other variant readings of 10l1, in 3:10(*bis*), 13; 5:1(*bis*), 2; 49:15(*bis*), 17, 18 (cf. MT?); 50:7, 8; 52:7, 8, 9(*bis*); 53:2(*ter*); 61:3, some of which are shared with other MSS, are not in agreement with MT; nor are they shared by 9a1.

Sadly, therefore, the evidence gleaned from study of P-Isaiah in this respect is poor both in quantity and in quality.

Finally, I come to the evidence of the lections from the *Dodekapropheton.* These were included in Gelston's edition of P-Dodekapropheton, but omitted from the discussion of the MSS in his monograph, as he had neither collated them himself nor seen their microfilms. There was only one variant reading attested exclusively in a lectionary MS that Gelston considered significant.[28] Unfortunately, of MS 9a1 only the book of Hosea (except vv. 6–10 of the last chapter) has been preserved in the original hand, the rest of the Dodekapropheton was supplied by a later hand (16/9a1).[29]

In *Hosea 4:1–12; 5:13–6:6; 7:13–8:1*, 9a1 has six unique readings in agreement with MT: three where Waw *copulativum* is prefixed to ܘܓܡ (4:1(*bis*), 4); 'omission' of preposition ܒ (4:3) and of preposition ܠ (4:11); and reading (6:5) ܢܦܩ instead of ܢܗܪ. None of these readings, nor the unique readings of 9a1 in 4:5; 5:14, 15; 8:1 which do not agree with MT, is shared by 10l1.

All four unique readings of 10l1, prefixing ܕ ܐܠܗ to ܐܠܗܐ (4:2), and Waw *copulativum* to ܘܓܡ (4:6); reading ܘܐܠܗܐ instead of ܘܐܫܘܪ

[28] A. Gelston, *The Peshiṭta of the Twelve Prophets* (Oxford, 1987), xix, cf. 93. See also his introduction to the edition of the Dodekapropheton which he prepared: *The Old Testament in Syriac* 3.4. *Dodekapropheton* (Leiden, 1980), vii–xx.

[29] Gelston, *Dodekapropheton*, xiv–xv; idem, *Twelve Prophets*, 82–83, 90. It is interesting to note that the palimpsest MS 7pj2, which in Numbers has such an exceptional text, also contains a few fragments of P-Dodekapropheton, most of them scarcely legible. Three unique readings, however, could be detected, cf. Gelston, *Dodekapropheton*, xii, and, idem, *Twelve Prophets*, 81.

(4:12); and addition of *seyame* (8:1), as well as reading, with 7a1, 8j1, 9l2, ܐܬܕܚ instead of ܐܬܚܐ (5:14; MT אטרף) disagree with MT and are not shared by 9a1.

Nowhere in these three lessons from Hosea do 9a1 and 10l1 share a variant reading.

In the short lesson from *Amos 8:9–12*, there is one variant of 10l1 that agrees with MT: omission of Waw *copulativum* from 8:12 ܠ̈ܐܦܣܘ; there are three that disagree: 8:9 ܠܚܘܬ instead of ܒܚܘܬ; 8:10 (*bis*) omission of Waw *copulativum*, and reading (with 7a1 and 9l6) preposition ܒ instead of ܠ.

In the lections from *Zechariah 9:9–14* and *11:11b–13:9 (+ 11:11b–14)*, 10l1 shares five variant readings with ancient MSS that are in agreement with MT. Three concern Waw *copulativum* only: this is omitted in 9:11 [1°] (with 6h9), and prefixed in 9:10 [1°] (with 9l2) and in 12:2 [2°] (with 7a1); 10l1, moreover, shares with 6h9 and 7a1 the omission of ܡܢ in 12:3, and the reading of *status emphaticus* instead of ܣܘܣܐ (cf. MT סוס) in 12:4 (but it does not share their addition of ܠ̈ܐܦܠ in 12:10 [:: MT]). All other variant readings of 10l1 in Zechariah disagree with MT: 9:10 (2°; with 11l4), *ibid.* (3°; with 9l2 12a1 →); further 9:11 (2°); 9:12, 13; 11:12, 13 (both of these: 10l1, II°); 12:2 (1°) and 6; and 12:8 (all are unique readings of 10l1).

Thus, in the lessons from Amos and Zechariah, where the original text of 9a1 is no longer present, there is some indication of a relationship of 10l1 with 6h9 and, in particular, with 7a1 (see Amos 8:10 [2°]; Zech 9:11 [1°]; 12:2 [2°], 3, 4).

4. *Conclusion: Change of* Vorlage *in other Peshitta MSS*

Generally speaking, the evidence from the lections of 10l1, other than those from Genesis (and Exodus), presented in section 3 confirms the conclusion already reached at the end of section 2.

In Genesis, it appeared that MS 10l1 has but few agreements with MS 5b1 (Gen 15:18 [see above], 17:2, 19:1, and [8/5b1] 22:6, all disagreeing with MT), and this is true too of its relationship with MS 9a1 in the other books: only the transposition in 1 Sam. 16:8 (:: MT), prefixing (with 6h13 8a1) Waw to ܟܐ in Isa 5:2 (= MT), and the reading ܟܫܝ ܘܟܫܝ (with 9l4) in Isa 61:3 (cf. MT) are in agreement with 9a1.

By far the majority of 5b1's and 9a1's variant readings, however, not only those that disagree with MT, but also those in agreement with the Hebrew, are not shared by 10l1 (this amounts to about 50 of [10/8/]5b1 and about 25 of 9a1).

Further, 10l1 has only a few unique readings in agreement with MT: in Gen 7:3 (1°); 12:7; 18:29; 19:7, and Prov 1:20; 8:3, 9; 9:4, 9; Isa 3:9; Amos 8:12 and Zech 9:10 (1°) (with 9l2); 9:11 (1°) (with 6h9); 12:2 (2°) (with 7a1); 12:3 and 12:4. Most of these concern trivial points only. Again, the great majority (more than fifty) of its unique readings disagree with MT.

The three lessons of 10l1 from Exodus, with their marked conformity to MS 5b1 (and MT), are therefore a striking exception to all the rest of this lectionary MS. The distance between 5b1 and 9a1 on the one hand, and 10l1 on the other, in the remaining lections could in fact hardly have been greater than it is.

There is some evidence that points to a more positive conclusion: particularly in those parts where comparison with 5b1 or 9a1 is not possible, the agreement of 10l1 with some of the ancient ('BTR') MSS, those of the second or middle stage of the development of the text of the Peshitta, is quite marked. This pertains to a number of agreements with 8a1 and/or 7h6 in Prov 8:1–11 and 9:1–11; Hos 5:14 and Amos 8:10 (2°) (both with 7a1), and five with 7a1 and/or 6h9 in Zechariah. However, as these mostly concern trivial points only, such as addition or omission of Waw, too much weight cannot be attached to this conclusion.

For myself I have to conclude that I have been extremely fortunate in the choice of Exodus as 'my' book for the edition annex monograph, as it appears to be the only book in which 10l1's lessons present an ancient text form in agreement with 5b1. In addition, Peter Hayman's information from Numbers about the palimpsest MS 7pj2 lends significant support to the conclusions that could already be drawn from the evidence of the MSS of P-Exodus. Moreover, they essentially agree with those of Michael Weitzman concerning MS 9a1, which is absent for Exodus.[30]

However, one question still remains: how was it possible that in one lectionary MS lessons from such a different textual background could be adopted? In the introduction to his dissertation, Konrad Jenner comprehensively discusses the differences between the existing lectionary systems and the conflicting views held in this respect by such eminent scholars as F.C. Burkitt and A. Baumstark, for instance concerning the MS called 'COMES'.[31] But it seems that similar questions apply to the

[30] A.P. Hayman, Review of *The Peshiṭta of Exodus*, *JSSt* 25 (1980), 263–270. See above (n. 24) for Michael Weitzman's studies.

[31] K.D. Jenner, *De Perikopentitels van de geïllustreerde Syrische kanselbijbel van Parijs (MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Syriaque 341). Een vergelijkend onderzoek naar de oudste Syrische perikopenstelsels* (Leiden, 1993), 1–27.

textual character of the *contents* of these lectionaries in their respective pericopes.

In the books of Kings I discovered a similar sudden explosion of agreements with a representative of the earliest attainable stage of the Peshitta text, though on a much smaller scale than with 10l1 in Exodus: in 1 Kings 11:11–19, the Jacobite MS 16l3 exclusively supports a number of readings of MS 9a1, whose special character is most marked in Kings. So far as I can see, the other lessons of 16l3 in 1 Kings, 3:5–15; 17:17–24; and 21:1–10, are far less clear in their support of 9a1 than is its lesson in Chapter 11. But, maybe, chance could also play a role in this relationship.[32]

In a broader context there are several examples of sudden changes in the text form within one manuscript. MS 5b1 itself is one such: after the part containing Gen–Exod, with a colophon dating it to 'the year 775' (Seleucid era = AD 463/4), a second part was added containing the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, from about the same time, but with quite another, far more conventional ('BTR') type of text.[33]

Another example is the well-known Buchanan bible and its family (12a1*fam*). The seventeenth-century pandects of Maronite provenance 17a1–5.10, some of which played a more or less prominent part in the composition of the Syriac text of the Paris and London polyglots, belong to this family in most books of the Old Testament. However, within the prophetic books this relationship is non-existent, because here the *Vorlage* of 17a1–5.10 was a 'd MS' (i.e. originally only containing the prophets), now called 14a1, which has a pure 'TR/ST' text and shows no special relation whatsoever with 12a1*fam.* This MS, however, had been used as the nucleus of a pandect, the remaining text of which was copied from MS 12a1 (or a MS closely akin to it), in two parts, one now at the *Biblioteca Vaticana* (15a2), the other at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris ([15/]14a1). The fifteenth-century part of 15a2–15/14a1 was later corrected on the basis of the masoretic MS 10m3, and only after that correction did this conglomerate serve as the model for MSS 17a1–5.10.

[32] Cf. H. Gottlieb and E. Hammershaimb (eds.), *The Old Testament in Syriac* 2.4. *Kings* (Leiden, 1976), Introduction, lxvi, and Text, 41–42. In Exodus, the relationship of 16l3 with the ancient MSS is poor: 'it has very little contact with the An-mss, but many peculiar readings and relations with the most diverse later mss'; it agrees only twice with 5b1, but approximately 45 times with 'TR', while disagreeing with 5b1. Cf. Koster, *Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 497, and 44: MS 16l3 was copied in AD 1569 and now belongs to the Syrian Orthodox Bishopric of Mardin.

[33] Cf. *List*, 15; Hayman, Review of *Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 266.

As a result, whereas there is no sign of influence from 12a1 in their text of the prophets (as it was copied from MS 14a1), their dependence on 12a1 is still manifest everywhere else.[34]

In the introductions to the volumes of the Leiden edition of P-Prophets published so far, MSS 14a1 and 17a1–5.10 are registered in the various 'Lists of the remaining MSS', either with a brief comment (3.1. *Isaiah* [Brock]) or with no comment at all (3.3. *Ezekiel* [Mulder]; 3.4. *Dodekapropheton* [Gelston], and *Daniel Bel-Draco* [Th. Sprey]). Furthermore, MS 12a1, the Buchanan bible, was presented not as the ancestor of a (here non-existing) 'family', but on its own in a separate section (once, in Dod, together with 9a1[*fam*]); in most cases a relationship with the later MS 16g6 was recorded. By some editors it was stated *expressis verbis* that the *siglum* 12a1*fam* was not used in their critical apparatus, because 'there is no significant relationship between 12a1 and 17a1–5.10 as is the case in some other Books'.[35]

To come now to the remaining seventeenth-century pandects, these MSS: 17a6–9, all four of which were copied by Sergius Risius, and 17a11,

[34] Cf. *List*, 44–45 and 36 (here '14a1' should be read instead of 15a1, and '15/14a1' instead of 17/15a1); Gelston, *Twelve Prophets*, 7, 38–45 (45!); Koster, *Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 255–265 (with footnotes 129–133); also the same, 'A Clue to the Relationship of some West Syriac Peshiṭta Manuscripts' (PIC 6), *VT* 17 (1967), 494–496, and P.B. Dirksen, *The Transmission of the Text in the Peshiṭta Manuscripts of the Book of Judges* (MPIL 1; Leiden 1972), 42–43, 96–97. According to Hayman (for Numbers) and myself, MS 15a2 was copied directly from 12a1. Dirksen and Di Lella, however, came to the conclusion, on the basis of their evidence from Judges and Proverbs respectively, that it was copied from a MS from the same provenance as 12a1, but not directly from it (Cf. Hayman, Review of *Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 267; Koster, *Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 326–329; Dirksen, *Peshiṭta of Judges*, 43–44; Di Lella, *The Old Testament in Syriac* 2.5. *Proverbs*, Introduction, xix–xxii). This question, therefore, seems to remain unsolved.

[35] Gelston, *Dodekapropheton*, xv; cf. 3.1. *Isaiah* (Brock), xxii–xxiv; and 3.3. *Ezekiel* (Mulder), xxviii–xxix. For the edition of Daniel Bel-Draco 12a1 was not used because of its illegibility, cf. 3.4. (second part), iii, n. 2.

In the book of Psalms there is no question of 12a1*fam* either. This is because the Psalms were consciously omitted by the copyist of 15a2 from his 'pandect', as they had been (or were expected to be) copied separately elsewhere. He indicated this in a note between the books of Samuel and Kings, i.e. at the place where the Psalms are to be found in MS 12a1 (Koster, *Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 256, with n. 131). As a result, the Psalms are not found in MSS 17a1–5.10 either, as they all derive from 15a2, directly (17a1–3.5.10) or indirectly (17a4<17a2). Cf. the description of 12a1 by Donald M. Walter in his introduction to the edition of P-Psalms, where it has been ranked with the witnesses to the western text (however, '12a1's more than 215 unique readings are exceeded in number only by 9a1's'), cf. *The Old Testament in Syriac* 2.3, xix. The other group of seventeenth-century pandects, MSS 17a6–9.11, do contain the Psalms (cf. the *List ad locc.*), but were not used for the edition.

also have a composite background. Risius used 9a1 (from Florence) as his main copy MS. However, as we have already seen, large parts of the Old Testament are missing from this MS, so Risius had to supply them from other sources. He therefore used, for the missing part of the Pentateuch, MS 16b3, the Nestorian Pentateuch *Vat Sir* 2 from Malabar (Angamali; AD 1558), which he had at his disposal in Rome. This served as his copy for the missing second half of Genesis, the whole of Exodus and the first half of Leviticus. He also used this, and other MSS, for comparison with his main source, and added their striking variant readings *in margine*. In Numbers, he copied 17a8^{txt} from 9a1, and 17a7^{txt} and 17a9 from 17a8 (17a11 is a copy of 17a9); but he still made use of 16b3 for his marginal notes (17a7^{mg}.8^{mg}) and he even copied from it the main text of 17a6. Similarly, its sister MS 16c1, *Vat Sir* 3, a so-called *Beth Mawtabhe* (in this case also including Susanna; also AD 1558), was apparently used for the text of Proverbs (the Wisdom books, inclusive of Job and Tobit, are missing from 9a1). Furthermore, Risius used it for the marginal notes of 17a7.8 in Judges (where 9a1 is present, so that he could copy the text of 17a7–9 from it; Judges is missing in 17a6), and for those in Ecclesiastes, where the main text seems to derive from yet another MS of the Vatican Library: 17g5, *Vat Sir* 436 (AD 1623).[36]

In the Wisdom of Solomon, however, there is a strong relationship between MSS 17a6–8.11 and MS 17a1, which otherwise belongs to the group 17a1–5.10 (its exact date is unknown). In two other cases mention is made of 17a1: the text of 17a6–9 in Gen 10–34 seems very similar to that in 17a1; this also holds for the text of 17a6 and 17a8 in 1(3) Esdras, at the other end of the Old Testament. In Gen 1–9, 17a6–9 seem to follow the later addition 14/9a1. According to Gelston, the text-form of 16/9a1, which supplies the missing part of 9a1 in the Dodekapropheton (and the following books), is closely related to that of 12a1. Risius copied 17a8$^{(txt)}$ from it, and later copied his other MSS 17a6.7.9 from 17a8; but he also had a third Malabar MS at his disposal: 16d1, *Vat Sir* 4 (AD 1556), which he used mainly for marginal readings (17a7^{mg}.8^{mg}), though sometimes also as text (17a7^{txt}.8^{txt}), with the 16/9a1 reading

[36] Cf. *The Old Testament in Syriac* 1.1. *Gen-Exod* (Jansma and Koster), xiv, xix; 1.2. [+ 2.1b] *Lev* (Lane), ix; *Num* (Hayman), ix-xi, xiv, xx; 2.2. *Judg* (Dirksen), xiv; 2.5. *Prov* (Di Lella), xxvii-xxx; *Qoh* (Lane), vi; also Koster, *Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 21, 404-427; Hayman, Review of *Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 268-269; Dirksen, *Peshiṭta of Judges*, 38-39, 59-70. Cf. G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Studi e Testi 92; Vatican City, 1939), 364, also 362, n. 4, for the list of books borrowed by Risius from the Vatican Library between 1625 and 1630.

in margine. Finally, the text of the book of Tobit in 17a6–9, here also related to 17a1, 'clearly depends upon 12a1 and 15/14a1'.[37]

As to MS 17a11, written by Niʿmat Chasruni in Rome (AD 1666/67), this MS 'also seems to have had various sources for its biblical books'. Dirksen, in the introduction to his thesis, actually mentions this MS as an example of the use of various sources for one manuscript. Although in most books it follows the Risius group (17a6–9), where it does seem to be a copy of 17a9, this is not invariably the case. In Judges it has the type of text of 16c1 (used for the readings *in margine* in 17a7.8) instead of copying 9a1; in Ecclesiastes it seems to belong to 16c1*fam* rather than to 17g3.5; in Kings it is also related to the 16c1 group (with 16g3.5 and $17a7^{mg}$) as against $17a6.7^{txt}$.8.9, which there belong to 9a1*fam*; in Tobit and 1(3) Esdras, however, it is related to MS 17a3 and/or the London Polyglot, for which 17a3 (among other MSS) was used. A further study of the origin and purpose of this particular MS would be interesting.[38]

Thus, in 17a6–9.11 the main character of the group, that was derived from MS 9a1, a representative of the earliest stage of the development of the text, exists alongside that of pure TR texts of Nestorian origin, and reminiscences of 12a1*fam*, in particular MS 17a1.

Another interesting example of this kind is mentioned by Dirksen in his thesis on the transmission of the Peshitta text in the MSS of Judges. There he gives a comprehensive discussion of MS 16g4, an (incomplete) later western MS which, like MS 18g4 (at least in Judges; see below), still has close relations with what I called 'BTR', the text of the ancient MSS from the sixth to ninth centuries. Moreover, MS 16g4 has rubrics to indicate certain lessons, as was the custom of a number of these An MSS (for this, see Konrad Jenner's thesis!). The text of the missing parts however, dubbed 17/16g4, was added from a MS which shows close relationship with 12a1, so that the striking agreements with the An MSS are lacking here—this is exactly the reverse of the main part, where 'there are no readings peculiar to 16g4 and 12a1 with its related mss.'. From this composite MS another MS was copied, with the same clerical

[37] Cf. *The Old Testament in Syriac* 1.1. *Gen* (Jansma), xxii; 2.5. *Wisd* (Emerton and Lane), vi; 3.4. *Dod* (Gelston), xiv–xv, xx–xxi; 4.6. *Tob* (Lebram), vii, ix–x; *1(3) Esd* (Baars and Lebram), ix[–x]; also J.A. Emerton, *The Peshitta of the Wisdom of Solomon* (StPB 2; Leiden, 1959), xxiii, xxi–xxii, xxv, xxvi, lvi–lviii; Gelston, *Twelve Prophets*, 14–17, 28–38.

[38] Koster, *Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 25 (cf. 422–427); Dirksen, *Peshiṭta of Judges*, xii (cf. 77–80); cf. *The Old Testament in Syriac* 2.2. *Judg* (Dirksen), xxi; 2.4. *Kgs* (Gottlieb and Hammershaimb), iii, xvi, xxvi; 2.5. *Qoh* (Lane), vi; 4.6. *Tob* (Lebram), x–xi; *1(3) Esd* (Baars and Lebram), xi.

errors, the rubrics of lessons, and, above all, 'the same combination of two different textforms as found in 16g4–17/16g4'.[39]

Dirksen still used the siglum '16g10' attributed to this MS, but at his suggestion it was changed to 17g8 (as otherwise it could not have been a copy of a MS with seventeenth-century additions). As MS '17g8' it also figures in the discussion of P-Exodus, where, however, it has a close relationship with the pandect 17a12 (a late acquisition by the Peshitta Institute). From Exod 9 onwards both show the same characteristic agreements with the ancient 'BTR' MSS as does 16g4 in Judges. In Chapters 1–9, however, their text is different: both agree with the later 'TR' model, but in this case it is 17a12 which shows the most obvious relationship with 12a1*fam.*[40]

As for MS 18g4, already mentioned in passing, there is the opposite situation from that in 10l1: whereas in Judges this MS is a prime witness for a later western MS which still shows considerable influence from the 'BTR' text of the An MSS, in Exodus it is a most faithful copy of MS 13b2, a western MS which, like 12b2, has already a firmly established later 'TR' standard text.[41]

Finally, the evidence from Numbers, as presented by Hayman in his review of *The Peshiṭta of Exodus*, seems to offer two more cases of changing *Vorlage* of the text within one and the same MS. In Numbers MS 18b5, which I had attributed to '13b2*fam*' in Exodus, 'definitely belongs to *17b1 fam* as the 29 (21 major) exclusive agreements between 17b1 18b5.6 19b4 show; it has a particularly close relationship with 18b6 (18 further exclusive agreements)'. In Exodus, however, 17b1*fam* consists of MSS 17b1 18b6 and 19b4, whereas MS 18b5 is firmly rooted in 13b2*fam* (i.e. 13b2 18g4 18b5), as their 51 common variants prove beyond any doubt: here the text of 18b5 was probably copied from 18g4, perhaps by dictation. There is no special relationship between 18b5 and 18b6, whereas the connection of 13b2 with 17b1 (but not with its family) is restricted to the possibility that, later on, 17b1 was corrected after 13b2. This leads to the conclusion that MS 18b5 has quite a different background in Numbers than in Exodus.[42]

[39] Dirksen, *Peshiṭta of Judges*, 12–13; 58–59 (17/16g4), 70–71 (16g4; quote from 70), 71–73 ('16g10' [= now 17g8]; quote from 71).

[40] Koster, *Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 233–248, 277–281.

[41] Dirksen, *Peshiṭta of Judges*, 18, 27, 73–75; Koster, *Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 335(–343), with n. 385.

[42] Hayman, Review of *Peshitta of Exodus*, 267–268; Koster, *Peshitta of Exodus*, 335–343 (335, 337, 343). In his very welcome and favourable review, Hayman here seems to have been misled by my method of presentation: apart from its one variant

Furthermore, there is a slight difference in the connections of the MSS of the Nestorian '15b1*fam*': this consists, in Exodus, of MSS 15b1 16b1 19b2.3 only, with a special bond between 16b1 and 19b3. In Numbers, however, MSS 17b2 and 19b1 are to be included in this group, whereas the connection between 19b2 and 15b1 does not skip MS 16b1, as it does in Exodus. MSS 17b2 and 19b1 are also closely related in Exodus, but without a special relationship with 15b1*fam*, except for the fact that the corrector of MS 17b2 probably used 16b1 as his copy. Moreover, MS 19b5, which is connected with 16b4 in Exodus, is related in Numbers, via 17b2, to 15b1*fam.*[43]

Thus it seems, that the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century copyists had at their disposal a rather broad choice of MSS, from which they could copy their text for the different books of the Old Testament. Even within the Pentateuch, they did not keep to one and the same copy.[44]

It again appears, therefore, that one must be very cautious in transferring, without due consideration, conclusions about the relationship between MSS from one biblical book to another, because—even within one biblical book—one must always be aware of the possibility of a sudden change of textual *Vorlage*. A conclusion, I think, not unwelcome to that steadfast COMES of the Peshitta in the past three and a halve decades to whom our contributions in this volume are dedicated.

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shared with 13b2 (but not including 18g4), and its 14 agreements with 18g4 (not including 13b2), the 51 agreements of 18b5 with both 13b2 and 18g4 (all three together) had already been discussed in the foregoing section.

[43] Hayman, Review of *Peshitta of Exodus*, 268; Koster, *Peshitta of Exodus*, 392–404.

[44] The editors, Bas ter Haar Romeny and Wido van Peursen, kindly called my attention to Michael Weitzman's remarks on MS 9a1 on p. 283 of his *The Syriac Version*: 'the incidence of good readings uniquely preserved varies greatly between books'. In this connection, he mentions 'The particularly high incidence of unique readings in 9a1 in Kings and Jeremiah'. However, I agree with Weitzman, that with regard to the incidence of unique readings in agreement with MT, these differences between books in 9a1 do not point to a change in manuscript *Vorlage* of 9a1. The basic character of 9a1 as a testimony of an early stage of the text of the Peshitta (or, as Weitzman puts it, as 'a single regular carrier') is manifest almost everywhere; there exists only a relative difference of the measure in which these unique agreements with MT obtain in some books. Weitzman, following a suggestion of Dr Gillian Greenberg, ascribes the high incidence of these readings in Kings and Jeremiah to the immediate relevance of these books: they might have attracted special attention (*ibidem*, with n. 51).

SCRIPTURE IN SYRIAC LITURGY: THE ROGATION OF NINEVEH

David J. Lane †

1. *Introduction*

The Rogation, or more popularly the Fast, of Nineveh has a strong hold on the popular devotion of Syriac Christians of Kerala. It finds no place in the austere customs of the Trappist Kurisumala ashram,[1] but its observation is provided for in the Pampakuda service book of the West Syrians[2] and the *Ḥudrā* (liturgical cycle) of the East Syrians.[3] In the Syro-Malabar church of St Mary Forane at Kuravilangad, near Kottayam, the second day of the period is marked by a great procession accompanying a life-size representation of Jonah in a boat; in devout households and institutions even the dogs are compelled to fast after the example of the domestic animals of the Ninevites. This short study of the biblical text and its use in the West Syriac daily service (office) for the three days of its observance comes as a token of gratitude and affection to Dr Konrad Jenner, whose friendship and great professional help over a period of nearly forty years has been a constant in the academic and personal life of the present writer.

2. *The Rogation of the Ninevites*

The basis of the liturgical observance is in Jonah 3. Couched in language similar to that of Jeremiah, the passage portrays a city which repented and was not destroyed, in contrast to Jeremiah's Jerusalem which did not repent and was destroyed. At the same time it is a meditation on divine governance and the role of the prophet within it. In the Syriac liturgy selections and emphases express the conviction that repentance demonstrates how human response enters the mystery of divine mercy

[1] Founded by Fr. Bede Griffiths OSB, the monastery draws together Indian and Western monastic traditions and practice. B. Griffiths (tr.), *The Book of Common Prayer of the Syrian Church* (s.a.), made their West Syrian Office available for private circulation. Its own present service books for the Office, based on a translation of the *Penqīṭō* (7 vols.; Mosul, 1886–96), are F. Acharya, *Prayer with the Harp of the Spirit* (4 vols.; Vagamon, 1982–2000).

[2] *Ktābā dṣaumā rabbā* (*Book of the Great Fast*) (Pampakuda, 1955), 131–95.

[3] Th. Darmo (ed.), *Ḥudrā* 1 (Trichur, 1960), 359–468.

and divine judgment. As liturgy they provide entry to past instances of divine mercy so that the community can be maintained in a present embrace. This liturgical use of Jonah parallels the reading of it in Jewish Day of Atonement solemnities.

A sixteenth-century manuscript,[4] which underlies Thoma Darmo's twentieth-century *Ḥudrā*, states:[5]

> Briefly, the first reason that our church of God observes the Rogation of the Ninevites is this. There was an intercession of the Ninevites which took place on account of the preaching of the prophet Jonah. Because of it they decreed a fast and clothed themselves in sackcloth, as it is written, 'When God saw their repentance he averted from them the blaze of his wrath, and did not destroy them'.[6]
>
> There is another reason on account of which a time of intercession is observed at this time by these Assyrians. There was a pestilence, which is generally called The Plague, which happened at a certain time in the kingdom of the Persians, in these lands of ours, during the time of Mar Sabrisho, bishop and metropolitan of Beyt Selok. It happened because of the great number of men's sins, and very nearly completely destroyed and brought to an end all those of Beyt Garmai and Assyria and Nineveh.
>
> When Mar Sabrisho was praying because of the staff of anger that was destroying his flock, he heard the echo of an angel's voice which said 'Decree a fast and make intercession, and the pestilence will be held back from you'. At once the saint gave orders that the whole of the Lord's people should be assembled in the Lord's house in all their ranks. On the first day of their intercession, which was a Monday, the angel which was doing the destruction held his hand, and no-one was stuck down; but a few died, that is of those who had been already made ill by the plague and struck down.
>
> When Friday came, Preparation Day,[7] the people shared in the sacrifice of the living body and holy blood of the Messiah and received pardon and sanctification in him. Of those into whose bodies destructive disease had earlier flowed not even a single one finally died. From that time onwards, when the church, shepherds and their flocks, saw the mercies which had come over them because of the intercession that they had made, they decreed and arranged that it should be made in this seven-week season every year. This has continued and been perpetuated and carefully fulfilled from that time until the present in these lands of ours. And those who arranged the Intercession gave instructions that there should be celebrated a commemoration of the Fathers, the Teachers, on the Friday of this week of the Rogation, because on the day of this commemoration mercy was shown and the pestilence taken away.

[4] Trissur (Trichur) MS 27, AD 1598. See J.P.M. van der Ploeg, *The Christians of St Thomas in South India and their Syriac Manscripts* (Placid Lectures 3; Bangalore, 1983), 137.

[5] P. 209.

[6] See Jonah 3:10.

[7] The Syriac churches follow the Jewish custom of beginning each day with the evening service of the (preceding) day. Similarly, while each week begins with Sunday, the First day of the week, Saturday is designated Sabbath, and the preceding day as Preparation. Monday is Second day of the week, Tuesday is Third day of the week, and so on.

Then follow instructions that the Rogation be observed three weeks before the beginning of the great Fast, 'in accordance with the custom of the Upper Monastery'.[8] As the date is regulated by the beginning of Lent, the observance comes nearer to or further from the celebration of Epiphany, in the fourth, fifth, or sixth week of its liturgical period. The observance provided for in the service books supplement the normal services so as to make them relevant to the roles played in God's governance of the universe by divine mercy and judgement and by creation's response. The only ceremony is the extra-liturgical one of the procession of Jonah's boat at Kuravilangad.

3. *Indian Syriac Liturgy*

Kuravilangad alone has the tradition of celebrating Jonah and his voyage, an episode in which he attempts to escape condemning Nineveh, the city which would be delivered after the repentance effected by his message. On the second of the three days observance[9] there is a procession, in which a near life-sized model of Jonah and his ship is carried round the streets. There is an additional fourth day, which is a day of thanksgiving and celebration in honour of Nineveh's deliverance: there is an air of festivity which to some extent goes against the solemnity of the basic three day Rogation: indeed, the literature from St Mary's church calls the whole three day period a feast. The East Syrian liturgy even provides an imaginative account of a celebratory banquet where the king of Nineveh, Sardanapolis, urges a reluctant Jonah to take the royal throne and preside. Needless to say, in recent years the observance has been in Malayalam.

Mention of Kuravilangad draws attention to a tri-partite aspect of Indian church life of the Syriac patrimony. St Mary's church is old, some claim fourth-century: the tradition of the procession of Jonah and his ship certainly goes back well before the sixteenth century. Despite sixteenth-century Portuguese attempts to pull the Indian St Thomas

[8] The text tradition of East Syriac liturgical (including biblical) books is regulated by that of the Upper Monastery of Abraham (Dashandad) and Gabriel (of Kashkar) in Mosul. See J.M. Fiey, *Mossoul Chrétienne* (Beyrouth, s.a.), 126–135.

[9] The information for this section comes from Mar Aprem, 'Baʿūthā of the Ninevites', in G. Kadukarampil (ed.), *Ṭuvaik – Studies in Honour of Revd Dr Jacob Vellian* (Syriac Church Series XVI; Madnha Theological Institute, Kottayam), from Mar Aprem, 'Baʿūtha of the Ninevites', conference paper, *VIII Symposium Syriacum*, Sydney 2000, and information from St Mary's Church. I am particularly grateful to Mar Aprem for generously letting me see a version of his Sydney paper. A doctoral thesis on this subject, for Mahatma Ghandi University, Kerala, is being prepared by Fr. Jose Ezhuparayil, MA.

Christians into a Roman pattern of theology and practice, Decree 10 of Session 8 of the Synod of Diamper (Udayamperur), although a major episode in the 'normalisation' of the Indian Church, specifically permitted the continuation of the custom. This permission reflects the significance of the town itself in Indian church history: it was for long the residence, and then the burial place, of the hereditary Archdeacons of India. These were responsible to the Bishops in Persia for the daily running of Indian church affairs, and indeed the coronation of the local ruler.

By linkage, and probably by origin, the Indian Syriac community derives from Persia, and owed allegiance to the Catholicos of Seleucia Ctesiphon: hence the existence of East Syriac manuscripts in such places as St Mary's Church Angamali, even if thence to the Vatican collections.[10] However, in the seventeenth century attempts were made to have links with a Syriac church that was neither Roman (too much interference), nor Persian (too little oversight). This led to the visit in 1665 of Mar Gregorios, Metropolitan of Jerusalem, and the bringing of a West Syrian tradition of liturgical and biblical texts, notable evidence of which is what is now known as the Buchanan Bible, presently in Cambridge University Library.[11] At Pampakuda[12] the collection contains both East and West Syrian manuscripts. This link with the Middle East was strengthened by the visit later that century of two genuine Jacobite bishops, Mar Basilios and Mar John, who reportedly set them 'free from the custom of the Franks'. Tisserant comments on this 'It is most unlikely that any switchover to the pure Antiochian rite was effected before the nineteenth century'.[13] After all, the link was made for practical rather than theological reasons, though there were ecclesiological and liturgical consequences, evidenced in a continuance of East and West Syriac traditions.

4. *The Rationale for the Rogation*

The *Ḥudrā* text gives a rationale for the Rogation; the West Syriac text discussed below does not, but may be said to presume it. The

[10] For example, Rome, Vatican Library, Borg. Sir. MS 55 (1693). Although, oddly, the copyist of this manuscript has copied Wisdom of Solomon from a West Syriac source, and Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs from an East Syriac one. See *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version* 2.5. *Proverbs; Wisdom of Solomon; Ecclesiastes; Song of Songs* (Leiden, 1979), 'Wisdom of Solomon', vi; 'Ecclesiasticus', vi, 'Song of Songs', viii.

[11] Cambridge University Library, MS Oo.I.1,2 (12a1).

[12] Van der Ploeg, *Christians of St Thomas*, 159–179.

[13] On this section, see E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India* (tr. E.R. Hambye; London etc., 1957), 141–143.

rationale, though, has much of the imaginative and interpretative. The present observance of three days mirror the three days Jonah spent in the fish, rather than the forty days fasting of the Ninevites. Sabrishoʿ was not bishop and metropolitan of Beth Selok, but bishop of the nearby Lashom, and then Catholicos from 596–604. His life was written by Peter the Solitary, and an attractive summary is given by W.A. Wigram.[14] In early life a shepherd, he was a notable ascetic and miracle worker in the limestone ridges to the East of Bet Selok. He was much beloved, and one of the stories told about him relates that instead of giving merely a prayer by way of blessing he gave gifts of blessed almonds and nuts. He was seized by the inhabitants of that city and forced to be Bishop of Lashom; later, despite his age, he was made Catholicos. This was not a happy period for any: his excessive rigour in ruling made him unpopular with the people; his popularity with the king reduced him to the status of being a religious mascot for royal military and political enterprises.

J.M. Fiey[15] refers to doubts about the historicity of the first occasion of the fast and Sabrishoʿ's connection with it: famines in Bet Garmai (the district east of the Tigris, bounded to the north by the Little Zab and to the south by the Diyala river) were recorded in the times of the Patriarch Ezekiel (567–581), Ishoʿyabh of Arzun (582–595) or (another) Sabrishoʿ, contemporary of Ishoʿyabh III (647–657). Nevertheless, his earlier reputation ensured that a single enterprise of fasting on the occasion of an outstanding pestilence and plague became a regular item in the liturgical period after *Denḥō*, or Epiphany. There is a parallel to all this in the Western church: in 469, Mamertinus, bishop of Vienne in Gaul, ordered a three day fast before the feast of the Ascension in response to earthquakes and poor harvest. The custom, Rogationtide, was adopted by other dioceses, made mandatory for all Gaul in 511, and introduced into Rome by Leo III before 816. It remained until recently as a procession of intercession,[16] without the fast which was its original setting.

5. *The Day of Atonement*

There is a more intriguing parallel still, namely the Jewish Day of Atonement. The development of this solemnity and the *Boʿūthō* (Rogation) have points in common, as reference to the Targum, the Jewish-Aramaic

[14] W.A. Wigram, *An Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church, 100–640 AD* (SPCK; London, 1910), 221–224. See also S.H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia* 1. *Beginnings to 1500* (San Francisco, 1993), 239–240.

[15] J.M. Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne* 3 (Beirut, 1968), 20, 21.

[16] A. Adam, *The Liturgical Year* (New York, 1980), 190–192.

rendering of Hebrew Scripture, shows. The scriptural allusions in the Syriac rite generally point to no biblical text other than the Peshitta, but there are three occasions which point to the Targum, either as text or traditional interpretation underlying the text.

One refers to the possibility that the judgement of God on Nineveh is a final and irreversible judgement:

> And if righteous justice has drawn its sword, it is your pity which will defend us; and if it be, our Lord, that the end of time has come, in your mercy let it be our completing. (First Hymn, Evening Prayer Tuesday, p. 155[17]).

The phrase 'if the end of time has come' is a surprise, for the example of the Ninevites is that repentance expressed in deeds is matched by divine mercy and the lifting of the sentence of destruction. At Jonah 4:5 the Hebrew text relates that Jonah sat down to see what became of Nineveh, and this is followed closely by the Peshitta. The Targum however adds 'At the end', giving a particular understanding of the sense in which 'at the end' is to be taken: the end of all things, signalling that the repentance of Nineveh was not sincere, that she plunged into wickedness once more and so was destroyed.

The second refers to Jonah's decree of death for himself:

> The prophet Jonah decreed a sentence of death upon himself, but the Ninevites decreed a fast of forty days; Jonah was gazing upon Nineveh when it turned aside, and the inhabitants of Nineveh were gazing at the mercy of the Lord so it might come to them. (Second hymn stanza 2, Evening Prayer Monday, p. 134).

The verse in question is Jonah 4:8, where the Hebrew is a taut three nouns: 'better my life than my death'. The Targum is a more brutal: 'It is better that I should die than that I should live', which underlies the line in the hymn. The Peshitta has a softer expansion: 'You are able to take my life into your hands, for I am no better than my fathers'. The hymn's contrast between Jonah's judgement of death on himself and the Ninevites' recourse to fasting and prayer reflects the Targum rather than the Hebrew or the Peshitta.

The third, the handling of the phrase in Jonah 3:9 'Who knows? God may repent', is the most significant, underlying the whole thrust of the West Syriac observance, for example:

> Nineveh heard the voice of the great prophet, and for forty days Nineveh repented. She obeyed his voice when he cried out over the great walled city and said 'Nineveh is repenting. She has made a decree and mercy has come to her

[17] The page numbers are of the Pampakuda text, presumably from Pampakuda MS 122 (See Van der Ploeg, *Christians of St Thomas*), 161–179. Translation of the text by the present author.

> and she has cried "Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit"'. (Response to first psalm at Night Prayer for Monday, p. 136).

The Hebrew phrase suggests a repentant deity, who must then be capable of sin. At Jonah 3:9 Targum Jonah escapes the dilemma by making use of Joel 2:14, which has the same opening phrase 'Who knows? He may turn and repent'. The latter carries on so that the verse reads 'Who knows? He may turn and repent and leave a blessing behind him, a cereal offering or a drink offering for the Lord your God'. To escape any suggestion that God repents of sin, Targum Jonah gives as equivalent of 'Who knows? God may turn and repent of his fierce anger, so that we do not perish' the following:

> Whoever knows that there are sins on his conscience let him repent of them and he will be pitied before the Lord and he will turn back from the vehemence of his anger and we will not perish. And their deeds were revealed before the Lord that they had turned from their evil ways and the Lord turned from the evil that he had threatened to do them and did it not.[18]

Such a reappraisal of the Hebrew verse, together with the use of Jonah as the significant element of the second day of the Day of Atonement rite, is crucial for the re-shaping of that observance from the ceremony of external cleansing designated in Leviticus 16 to one of a shaping of the moral response of the will. The Day of Atonement is thus a singular instance of the way in which the book of Jonah has been 'cited and expanded with righteousness of Ninevites broadly exaggerated as examples of authentic contrition worthy of emulation'.[19] In a nearby passage Levine quotes from the Talmud to relate how the book was proclaimed 'during public fasts imposed on the community during periods of prolonged droughts, impending attack, earthquakes, pestilence and other communal dangers regarded as punishment for disobeying God's word', and from the Mishna that the imposition of ashes was accompanied by the proclamation:

> Our brethren, Scripture does not say of the people of Nineveh 'And God saw their sackcloth and their fasting', but rather, 'God saw their deeds that they had turned from their evil way'.[20]

It is interesting to note that the Syriac rite makes no mention of faith as an element in repentance, but follows the same pattern as found in Jonah and its applications. This is a case of a parallel liturgical development of

[18] K.J. Cathcart and R.P. Gordon, *Targum to the Minor Prophets* (Edinburgh, 1989), 108.

[19] E. Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Jonah* (Jerusalem, 1975), 8.

[20] *Yoma* 8:1; Levine, *Jonah*, 8–9.

the theme of repentance and divine governance: the repentance of the Ninevites is a mirror of the repentance of all.[21]

6. *East and West Syrian Liturgy*

The earliest ordering of the Syrian liturgy followed the pattern of the great church at Seleucia Ctesiphon, and was agreed at the Council there in 410 which asserted the autonomy of this fifth Patriarchal see. Later developments resulted in an authority for the Upper Monastery, or Monastery of Abraham and Gabriel at Mosul, certainly after the seventh-century reforms of Ishoʿyabh III. Hence the Trichur Manuscript 27, as other manuscripts, was at pains to emphasize that it followed that monastery's pattern. However another Syriac ecclesial community came into being in the seventh century, associated with Jacob, nicknamed Baradaeus, or Horseblanket, after his great travels. The community was based on Greek elements, though within a Syriac context. In the words of Bede Griffiths in his introduction to his edition of *The Book of Common Prayer*:

> It was under (Jacob) that the Syrian liturgy was translated from Greek into Syriac and the present Syrian liturgy came into being. But at the same time this liturgy drew largely on the traditions and customs of the Syriac speaking East Syrian Church, together with the hymns and chants of St Ephrem and his successors. This liturgy continued to grow from the seventh to the twelfth century, borrowing not only from the east Syrian liturgy but also from Jerusalem through the Byzantine tradition.

The growth of this West Syriac liturgical pattern is probably one reason for the firming up of a definitive East Syrian one; its origins explain why it is similar to the Seleucia Ctesiphon/Upper Monastery type, while being a simplification of it. At the same time it retains Greek phrases, notably the response *Kurieleison* and the proclamation *Stōmen Kalōs.* The greater length of the East Syriac text emphasizes the difference between the two traditions and their independent life.

[21] It is interesting further to note material in L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Philadelphia, 1911–38), vol. 4, 246–253; sources given in vol. 6, 348–352. The fish was 'so large that Jonah was as comfortable inside as in a spacious synagogue'; the voice of Jonah was so loud it carried from one end of Nineveh to the other; 'The penance of the Ninevites did not stop at fasting and praying. Their deeds showed that they had determined to live a better life (. . .) God was gracious as long as they continued worthy of the loving-kindness; but after 40 days they departed from the path of piety (. . .) the punishment threatened by Jonah overcame them'. The leader of the Ninevites was Osnappar, King of Assyria. Jonah's sin was that he had been sent by Elijah to prophesy the destruction of Jerusalem, averted by its repentance. Consequent on the non-fulfilment of his prophecy, he had been known as 'the false prophet', and fled the responsibility of another 'failed' prophecy over Nineveh.

7. *The West Syrian Observance*

The Pampakuda printed text provides material for Evening prayer, Compline, Night prayer, Morning prayer, and prayer at the third and sixth (ninth?) hours and mid-day over the course of the three days of the Rogation, before services revert to their normal shape and content. It provides the variable portions in the normative pattern of prayer, in just the same way that Western service books provide antiphons, hymns, and lessons for festal and fast days. Unlike Western offices, Syriac daily services do not have scriptural lessons: after the example of Ephrem, scriptural material is mediated and absorbed through hymns, and through prayers expressed as hymns. Most commonly these hymns are ascribed to Ephrem, Jacob of Sarug, Mor Balai, and Simon the Potter, but this ascription is probably more a matter of stating the metre and identifying a style rather than of genuine authorship. It is interesting to note that the order for the Rogation of the Ninevites includes provision for seven times of prayer: although this became the norm for Western monasticism, it is found in the Syriac pattern only for the Great Fast, that is, Lent.

The *taksō*, or the order for service, for these days presupposes the Common or normal order. In this there is a pattern of a Psalm or several Psalms appropriate for the time of day into which passages illustrative of our Lord's life or of elements of our salvation are woven, together with prayer-hymns which expand those interpretative elements. The shape of *Ramshō*, or the evening service is a good model[22] to illustrate this kind of office. There are fixed elements:

(a) Introduction: *Trisagion*; Lord's Prayer; prayer relevant to the day's end
(b) Psalms 141, 142, 119 vv. 105–112, 117
(c) Offering of incense
(d) Conclusion: prayer that the divine mercy will not be withheld; *Trisagion*; Lord's Prayer; Creed.

Variable elements, after the Psalms (b) and also after the incense (c), bring dimensions of salvation to the time of day:

(b^1) *Eqbō*, or antiphon/anthem, to follow the psalmody
(b^2) *Pro-emion* and *Sedrō*, or Preface and prayer
(b^3) *Qōlō*, or Hymn, before the Incense
(c^1) *Qōlō*, or Hymn, after the Incense

[22] The English may be found in Griffiths, *Book of Common Prayer*, and Achariya, *Prayer*; the Syriac in *Ṣlawwōthō dyowmōthō šḥīmē d šabbthō* [*Common daily prayers for the week*] (Sharfeh, 1938). An edition with English and Syriac texts on opposite pages is shortly to appear from St Ephrem's Ecumenical Research Institute (SEERI), Kottayam, Kerala, S. India.

(c^2) *Quqlion*, or responsory
(c^3) *Eqbō*, or antiphon/anthem
(c^4) *Sedrō*, or Prayer (Collect)
(c^5) *Qōlō*, or Hymn
(c^6) *Bō'ūthō* (Intercession) of Mor Jacob.

The same principle applies to the other hours: Compline, Night Office; Morning Prayer; Third Hour; Mid-day; Ninth Hour. So for these hours there is provision for some or all of these variable elements to be expansions, meditations, or applications of the episode of Jonah and Nineveh. The variables (propers) for Evening Prayer on the three days of the Rogation provide illustration.

8. *The Variables (Propers) for Evening Prayer*

1. Evening prayer, Monday

Eqbō:

> We knock at your gate, and beg mercy and pity from your treasure store. In your goodness pardon our offences which we acknowledge, and we worship you and speak words of praise to you.
>
> We make request of God, as did the Ninevites in their groaning, that he will make the blows and rods of anger pass and cease from us. Come, all nations, and let us bless and worship him. For a transparently pure assembly of penitents the King's Son prepares a banquet which will not pass away, and the living drink of the Holy Spirit. Come, all nations, let us bless and worship him.
>
> You are the one to whom we call, like the Ninevites. Merciful One: in your mercy, have mercy on us. In your love, receive our service of worship. We acknowledge and worship you, and speak words of praise.
>
> Praise be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.
>
> From now and to the end of the ages.

Qōlō, to the tune 'The Lord will preserve his Church':

> Glory to you, O God, good and kind Lord, who in all your provisions seek the salvation of mankind. Nineveh, which forgot the truth and was devastated by the passions of sin, you did not abandon, O Lover of Mankind, as a portion for Satan, but with threats of anger turned her away from erring, and she became a good inheritance for your name, and was distinguished for her repentance.
>
> Praise to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.
>
> Nineveh a city of warriors, who went astray after idolatry and abandoned the path of truth- you did not abandon her, O Lover of Mankind, to be a portion for sin, but in your love for mankind saved her from destruction. So she found refuge in your compassion, and she found salvation in your divine goodness. Now, behold your church implores you at all times to have mercy on her children.
>
> From now and to the end of the ages.
>
> Our Saviour spoke in parables and in proverbs and in acts of power, and he said that the kingdom of heaven is like the virgins who took their lamps and went

out to meet the bridegroom and the bride, all of whom, as one, dozed off and slept. And then a great cry was raised 'Behold the bridegroom comes'. Those who were wise entered with him, but the foolish stayed outside the gate in great weeping, and sighings which cannot be described.

Another *Qōlō*, to the tune 'To you O Lord we bring':

The repentance that Nineveh brought before God opened the gates of heaven, and brought mercy. The king fasted and put on sackcloth and distress; the free citizens saw him, and put on sackcloth and scattered ashes on their heads. When the Merciful One saw that they turned from their wickedness, he turned away his righteous anger from them. Blessed is he who rejoices in the penitent who come to him, and he calls them to repentance.

Praise to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

The prophet Jonah decreed a sentence of death upon himself, but the Ninevites decreed a fast of forty days. Jonah was gazing upon Nineveh when it turned aside, and the inhabitants of Nineveh were gazing at the mercy of the Lord so it might come to them. So then, Merciful One who sees their tears, bring down your mercy and answer their prayer. O God who answered them, respond to those who worship you, and in your mercy answer their requests.

From now and to the end of the ages.

To you, O Lord, we bring incense of spices, and from your treasure store we beg kindness and mercy. For you are kind, and take pleasure in penitents. I have no hope and support other than you. O Lord our God, we make request of you, with passion and with tears and with love and with faith. O Good One who is our worship, answer with your mercy the requests of us all.

Bōʿūthō of Mar Jacob:

We call to you, the Hearer of All, our Lord Jesus Messiah, the Gate. Revelation came from God upon the prophet to go and turn the people of Nineveh to repentance. He sent it to Jonah to proclaim a change of heart, by way of help to remove wickednesses from her, in that he threatened her. Woe to you because your wickedness, your crimes too, have prevailed. And from now and for forty days you are a mound of dust; and from now for forty days your beauty is withered away; and from now for forty days your light has become darkness.

She has gathered together for prayer and does not doubt the preaching that Jonah spoke to her. She believed and welcomed all that he said to her. She made straight for her Lord that she might ask of him. The king trembled, the rulers and all the circle trembled at the preaching of Jonah who preached change of heart to Nineveh. Jonah preached and the ranks of the people were dismayed. The prophet threatened and the nations trembled because of their terror. We call to you, the hearer of all, our Lord Jesus Messiah the gate.

2. Evening Prayer, Tuesday

Psalm: Lord I have called upon you.
Response, to the tune 'Pray, O Lord':

Nineveh the city was in tumult because of Jonah who came from the sea. Upright Jonah opened his mouth, and Nineveh heard and was grieved. A Hebrew preacher

disturbed the fortified city utterly: he filled his mouth and he gave voice 'Woe': to his hearers he apportioned death. Kings heard him and were brought low; they cast away their crowns and made themselves lowly. Freemen heard him and were thrown into confusion; instead of flowing robes they clothed themselves in sackcloth. Revered old men heard him, and covered their heads with ashes. Rich men heard him and opened their treasures to the poor. Sea of mercy and pity that pours out its abundance on our race, pardon the offences of your flock by the blood that flowed from your side. Let us, my brothers, like the Ninevites, prudently cast away hateful things, clothe ourselves with the armour of things that are good, and let us please the King of Kings.

Praise to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

From now and to the end of the ages.

Thanks to you from every mouth, glory to you with every tongue, O Good One who takes pleasure in our salvation. To you be praise and upon us mercy.

Qōlō, to the tune 'You are his witnesses':

In the streets of Nineveh Jonah went preaching that there would be terror and confusion within her. The king heard and trembled and was afraid. He began to cry in passion and grief, 'Spare, Piteous One, your servants because they call upon you', and behold they began to turn from their wickednesses.

Praise to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

It was a most appropriate prayer that Nineveh made and sent to God, for weeping was mingled with it, and passion and tears and watching and fasting and a groaning heart. When the Good One saw, he was contented and made the anger pass away from that penitent people.

From now and to the end of the ages.

We know, O Lord, that we have sinned against you; with our sins and with our faults we have greatly provoked your wrath. If righteous justice has drawn its sword, it is your pity which will defend us; and if it be, our Lord, that the end of time has come, in your mercy let it be our completing.

Another, to the tune 'Blessed are you, O Church':

The king heard the preaching of the prophet when he proclaimed sword and destruction to the city and its inhabitants, and his word bore the sword that was to destroy in anger. So the king ran and stood in the gate of the Lord, and all his servants, and poured out tears without restraint, and they took and received mercy and pity.

Praise to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

In the morning the voice of the Hebrew prophet thundered in Nineveh, the city of warriors. The mighty wall trembled, and he cast consternation among her inhabitants, and they were dismayed through quaking, for the most Powerful made them tremble at the report of his mighty deeds. In fear they cried out and said: 'Our Lord have mercy upon us'.

From now and to the end of the ages.

Beseech, O sinner, forgiveness from God and learn the prayer of Jesus that you should pray at all times. 'Our Lord, may your kingdom come, let your will be

on earth as it is in heaven, Forgive us our offences and sins, and do not lead us into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one.'

O Lord have mercy upon us.

Bōʿūthō of Mor Jacob:

We pray to you, the Hearer of All, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, the Gate.

A command came from the king's house with vigour, summoning the whole city to repentance. Many were the prayers in all the streets, one after another. The voice of Jonah was covered by their voices. The brides cast off the splendid garments of their wedding feasts, and for their wailing put sackcloth on their bodies; instead of silken garments they were wrapped in clothes of mourning; instead of perfumes, ashes were scattered on their heads.

Nineveh wrote a letter, full of passion and great weeping from her eyes and tears from her pupils, and with the letter that she wrote and sent to God she brought loving weeping into the presence of the Lord. O Messiah, who received their repentance and saved them, hear our request and take away from us all our injuries. For we make acknowledgement to you, O Lord, for all your goodness, O Good Shepherd, and to the Holy Spirit, hidden with the Father for all times.

We pray to you, the hearer of all, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, the Gate.

3. Evening Prayer, Wednesday

Psalm: 'Lord I have called to you'.
Response, to the tune 'Pray Lord':

I am astonished at the tale of Nineveh so doleful to its hearers, and at the patience of your good Spirit I am astonished beyond measure. Because he did not keep your commandments the prophet Jonah son of Matthai went and fled to the sea because he hoped to escape from you. While he was praying before you, O Good One, from the bowels of the fish, you heard his prayers and saved him from drowning. You commanded the fish, my Lord, and it set him free without harm; you showed him that you are the Good One and the Lord of the heights and of the depths. Afterwards you sent him to the Ninevites to preach that in forty days Nineveh would be destroyed by wrath.

Praise to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

From now and to the end of the ages.

He proclaimed the word in the streets by a command of righteousness a fast for all men, old and young and children.

Qōlō to the tune 'Messiah protect your Church':

The repentance that Nineveh made was an example in creation, by it God was satisfied and annulled the judgment on it, and supported her with the mercy that came from him. But Jonah was indignant when he saw that punishment had passed from her. Praise to that Good One whose gate is open to penitents; everyone who knocks is given the remission of debts and sins.

Praise to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

Just as you received the prayer of the prophet from the belly of the whale, and saved Nineveh from wrath, and supported her with the mercy that comes from you, so receive the prayer of your servants purchased by your precious blood, and be pleased with the fast and prayer that we bring to you, most merciful. Pardon our debts and forgive our offences, and in your pity make them worthy for the glorious place at your right hand.

From now and to the end of the ages.

The kingdom on high is like a man who made a feast and called the people to come to it. But they did not wish to come and enjoy it, so he sent servants that they might invite all the nations to rejoice with him. By invitation they met together from every corner of the earth, and the banqueting house was filled. He went out to see them, and found among them a man who was clothed in filthy garments not appropriate for the feast. He commanded that they throw him out into darkness.

Lord, have mercy upon us and help us.

Another, to the tune 'For the definition of the faith':

Mournful was the voice of the Ninevites when they made their request to God that he would remove from them the harsh condemnation: 'O that the Lord because of his goodness would remove from us this wrath.' When Jonah the prophet son of Matthai preached, 'Spare the young men and children, spare the men, spare the boys, deliver in your mercy the beasts and save all Nineveh, Halleluiah, that she may acknowledge your goodness.

Praise to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

The Lord received the tears of the Ninevites when they made request of him: Receive the supplication from us all, as God answered Nineveh the city of warriors, for you alone are good and the one who welcomes penitents, Halleluiah, in your mercy spare us.

From now and to the end of the ages.

I gaze, O only begotten God, on the sea of your mercy, for many are my debts and my lacks weigh heavy on me: sprinkle me with pure hyssop and purify me with the tears of my eyes. I pray you, my Lord, for the love of your begetter that my adversaries do not deride me, but that the angels rejoice over one sinner who repents of his wickedness, and say 'Blessed is the Lord whose gate is open, Halleluiah, by day and by night to the penitent'.

Bōʿūthō of Mar Jacob:

We pray to you O Lord the Hearer of All, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, the Gate: O Lord our Lord: come to our help; hear our supplication and be merciful to our souls. The word that Jonah preached came to the king of Nineveh, and he trembled greatly at the voice that proclaimed overthrow and destruction. For people were saying to the dreaded king of Nineveh 'Who is this who has uttered threats and menaces against your power? Who has sent him, for he has not constrained the kings of the earth? Why has he threatened us, when in his sight there is nothing? Let him come and show us if the words he spoke are true. Let us learn from him for what reason he has threatened our place.

We pray to you the hearer of all, our Lord Jesus the Messiah, the Gate.

Exceptions to the scheme above are found in the third *Qaumō* or section of the Night Prayer for the three days, where the *Eqbō* and Hymns are those for the third *Qaumō* of Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of the Fast (Lent); Compline of Tuesday and Wednesday follow the appropriate ordinary form for Lent.

Evening prayer for the next day, Thursday (i.e. Wednesday evening), is the normal pattern (ferial) for the ordinary day of the week.

9. *Structure and Pattern*

It can be seen from the example of Evening Prayer that there is a basic structure of an office which is both Cathedral (popular) and Monastic: Cathedral in that there are set psalms for the 'day' hours, and Monastic that there is continuous psalmody for the night.[23] The scriptural element is provided in the hymns and responsories,[24] for the three variable elements each have their own purpose: the responsory or antiphon for the psalms gives the context in which the psalms are to be pondered; the hymn provides an interpreted reference to the biblical text, and the *Bōʿūthō* signifies the type of gift or grace which is requested. To illustrate this, Psalm 141 is an evening psalm for obvious reasons:

> Lord I have called on you; do you answer me;
> Bend your ear to my words and accept:
> My prayer is like incense before you; the offering of my hands like the evening offering;
> Raise up O Lord a guard for my mouth and a protector for my lips;
> So that my heart does not stray after an evil word, so that I enact deeds of wickedness.
> Let me not share salt with wicked men, but may a righteous man teach me and reprove me . . . [25]

The psalm responsories provide contexts:

1. Monday sets the petition for a hearing in the context of that of the Ninevites; requests that all nations give praise; recalls that a banquet is prepared for transparently pure penitents.

[23] See, e.g., G. Guiver, *Company of Voices* (2nd ed.; Norwich, 2001), 54–57.

[24] Lectionary manuscripts provide for eucharistic readings, e.g. British Library Add. 14,686 (OT and Acts/Apostolic readings: Monday: (1) from Genesis but actually a mishmash of phrases from Leviticus 4, 5, 27 on responsibility for sin, its acknowledgement and reparation with 20% penalty; (2) Jonah 1; (3) Acts 7:36–43. Tuesday: (1) Micah 1; (2) Nahum 1:1–14; (3) Acts 8:9–25. Wednesday (1) Zeph 1:11–2:4; (2) Jonah 2:1–3:5; (3) Acts, but actually James 1:13–27. Add. 14,490 (Gospels) gives a reading only for the Wednesday: Matt 12:30–45. The passages are from Syro-Hexapla and Harklensian versions.

[25] Author's translation from the Syriac.

2. Tuesday gives the context of the righteous Jonah who teaches and rebukes; recalls that prayer and penitence are linked with forgiveness through the blood of Christ; urges the casting away of what is hateful tin order to please the true king.
3. Wednesday focuses on the patience of the Holy Spirit with Nineveh, and the saving of Jonah from the fish as a pattern of the salvation of the city, together with the lesson that the righteous one is in fact the Lord.

These illustrations demonstrate a part of what is intended in the attaching of these antiphons to Psalm 141 and the others set for the evening service: 142, 119:105–112, 117.

The hymns, which provide the equivalent of biblical readings in the Office, have a three-fold structure, marked off by two separated halves of the *Praise to the Father ... from now ...* There is a statement, summarising biblical material; then comment, summarising biblical material; finally a request, involving a New Testament reference or allusion to an attribute of God.

The first one for Monday refers in its first section to Nineveh, 'forgetful of truth and devastated by passions of sin', which became 'distinguished for repentance'. The second section presents Nineveh having refuge and salvation in the divine compassion and mercy, which is the ground for the Church's prayer for mercy. The third section touches on the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, some of whom entered and some of whom were excluded. The second Hymn for Tuesday starts with the tearful prayers of the king of Nineveh, continues with Ninevites' terrified prayer for mercy, and concludes with the sinners' true prayer for forgiveness, 'Our Father ...'. The second hymn for Wednesday begins with the Ninevites' prayer for the sparing of men and youths, the whole city and their animals, continues with the Lord's pity on the tearful city, and ends with references to the psalm 'Purge me with hyssop' and the parable which alludes to the angels' rejoicing over the single repentant sinner. Again, these three examples can be taken as instances of general principle.

The same can be said of the Rogations, or general intercessions, of the Fathers. The evening ones are ascribed to Jacob of Sarug, though, as suggested earlier, as matter of metre and style rather than actuality. There are three, one for each day, each having a fixed phrase that the Lord, the hearer of all, the Messiah and Gate, will hear the prayer. The first is a simple meditation on Nineveh's belief in Jonah's call to repentance, immediate recourse to God, and forty days of desolation to under-write her conviction and express repentance.

The second ponders the vision of public grief, and portrays repentance as a passionate letter entering the divine presence, and concludes with a request that injuries be removed from the Church. The third considers Jonah's message of destruction, and ponders its authenticity.

All three *genres*: Antiphon, Hymn, and Intercession, stand within the methods by which the Syriac church handled scripture. If a method common to the three can be brought forward it is that of an interpretation into which the participant enters so that a relation with God is embraced. The emphasis is not so much on what scripture says, as what scripture means—and scripture seen as an interactive whole, where allusion as much as citation is the key.

10. *Jonah and the New Testament*

Although the main weight falls on the fast and repentance of Nineveh, Jonah and his fish appear:

> By one Hebrew preacher (Nineveh) was troubled like the sea, by Jonah who came from the sea; Jonah fled from God and the Ninevites from purity, but righteous judgement constrained them as prisoners. As for repentance, it preserved Jonah in the sea and the Ninevites on the dry land: when both drew near him they were saved.
> (*Bōʿūthō* of Mor Ephraim, second Qaumō, Night prayer Monday, 140)

New Testament allusions are taken up:

> Jonah went into the lowest part of the ship and slept; but the Lord raised tempests and the whole sea became stormy.
> (Hymn, Morning Prayer Tuesday, 145)

And again:

> Jonah resisted the commandment of his Lord and went down to the sea in order to escape, but the sea imprisoned him in the depths in the bowels of a great fish in order to set out a mystery. He prayed and the Lord answered him, and he came out to complete his command, and he set out his resurrection.
> (Antiphon, second psalm Morning Prayer Wednesday, 185)

But that Jonah prayed inside the fish, and the canticle in Jonah 2, are intriguingly referred to:

> Who saw the house that was built in the middle of the sea without carved stone, and there dwelt in it a righteous man Jonah bar Matthai and he sang songs in it, sweeter than honey to the mouth: Have mercy on me Lord and forgive my foolishness.
> (Responsory for the sixth hour on Wednesday, 194)

That fasting is necessarily accompanied by generosity is expressed clearly:

> Do not acquire gold and silver, for the poison of death lies in them; acquire healthy wisdom so you may be loving towards God; fast a fast of forty days, give bread to the hungry, and pray each day seven times as you learned from the son of Jesse.
> (*Bōʿūthō* of Mor Ephraim, Compline Monday, 136)

But the definitive role in the mercy and judgement of God is played by the atoning act of Christ and its appropriation through the sacraments.

> May your cross be a wall for me from things that cause harm.
> (*Bōʿūthō* of Mar Jacob, Compline, Monday, 136)

> I will lay me down and sleep in peace, and may your blood be a guardian for me and the soul which is your image.
> (*Bōʿūthō* of Mor Ephraim, Compline, Monday, 136)

> If the Lord had mercy on the city of Nineveh for the sake of the repentance that she offered, how much more will he have mercy on his city and on the sheep which he saved by the blood of his crucifixion.
> (Hymn, Mid-day, Tuesday, 151)

And with it is a tenderness, pastoral perception, and wit:

> O prudent man, when you hear the sound of the clapper, long for it with joy and make your journey quick to the holy Church, and bring your mind recollected with you while it is not distracted with wandering.
> (*Bōʿūthō* of Mor Jacob, First *Qaumō* Night prayer, Tuesday, 181)

But while the theme is one of penitence, there is a 'gloriously doxological'[26] note too:

> Praise to the Father who has turned them from idolatry, and worship to the Son who welcomed them in repentance, and thanksgiving to the Holy Spirit, who takes pleasure in the life of all penitents. Blessed is the mystery of their threefold being to which be glory.
> (*Bōʿūthō* of Mor Jacob, Third Hour, Tuesday, p. 150).

11. *Conclusion*

This article on the Rogation of the Ninevites has looked at the putative origins of the observance and its shared background with the Day of Atonement. It has given illustrations of the Syriac use of scripture in liturgy, provided examples of the principles on which that liturgy was constructed, and demonstrated the connection between handling of scripture and a living faith community. Mor Jacob provides the best kind of conclusion that there can be:

[26] A Fr. George Guiver CR phrase.

If you seek an image which portrays repentance, no pigments other than tears are to be mixed.
(*Bōʿūthō* Third *Qaumō* Night prayer Monday, 164)

Praise to the Father who strengthened the sons of Nineveh, and worship to the Son who sent Jonah to bind up her travail, thanksgiving to the Spirit who makes all wounds pass away with tears.
(*Bōʿuthō* First *Qaumō* Night prayer, 160)

MOSES' LAWS: A NOTE ON THE PESHITTA VERSION OF JOSHUA 1:7 AND RELATED PASSAGES

Michaël N. van der Meer

The Hebrew text of Josh 1:7 and its ancient versions, the Old Greek and Syriac translations in particular, present some puzzling problems. In the divine installation speech, Josh 1:1–9, YHWH first summons Joshua to cross the Jordan and conquer the Promised Land (verses 2–5), then encourages him to remain strong and steadfast in order to distribute this Promised Land (verse 6) and finally encourages the new leader to be strong and steadfast in the observance of the law which Moses has given to Joshua and read from it every day (verses 7–8). The Masoretic Text reads as follows:

> רק חזק ואמץ מאד לשמר לעשות ככל התורה אשר צוך משה עבדי אל תסור ממנו ימין ושמאול למען תשכיל בכל אשר תלך
>
> Only be strong and very courageous, to observe to act in accordance with all the *law* that my servant Moses commanded you; do not turn from *him* to the right hand or to the left, so that you may be successful wherever you go.[1]

The theologically important word *tora* is not reflected in the Greek version of verse 7.[2] Instead, Joshua is admonished in more general terms to execute faithfully what Moses had ordered to Joshua:

> ἴσχυε οὖν καὶ ἀνδρίζου φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν καθότι ἐνετείλατό σοι Μωυσῆς ὁ παῖς μου· καὶ οὐκ ἐκκλινεῖς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς δεξιὰ οὐδὲ εἰς ἀριστερά, ἵνα συνῇς ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐάν πράσσῃς.

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[1] Translations of biblical passages in this article are my own, based on existing modern English translations such as the NRSV, REB, and the NJPS. For the Peshitta the English translation by G.M. Lamsa, *The Holy Bible from Ancient Eastern Manuscripts* (Philadelphia 1933), has been consulted, for the Septuagint the one by L.C.L. Brenton, *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament with an English Translation and with Various Readings and Critical Notes* (London 1844), has been consulted as well as the French translations in the *La Bible d'Alexandrie* series.

[2] M.L. Margolis, *The Book of Joshua in Greek According to the Critically Restored Text with an Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Principal Recensions and of the Individual Witnesses* (Publications of the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation in Trust at the American Academy for Jewish Research; Paris, 1931–38 and Philadelphia, 1992).

> Be strong, *therefore*, and behave like a man, to observe and do *as Moses my servant commanded you*, and you shall not turn away from *them* (sc. the commands) to the right hand or to the left, in order that you may have *insight in* all the things you *might accomplish*.

Many scholars consider the shorter Greek text to be a faithful witness to an original Hebrew version of the Book of Joshua without the theologoumenon *tora*.[3] The originality of a shorter Hebrew text would also be confirmed by the fact that the gender of the masculine suffix ממנו does not correspond with the feminine gender of its antecedent, the noun תורה. The Greek text differs from the Hebrew in number: it has ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν, which is plural, 'from them'. This phrase implies the same general understanding of the preceding clause as 'all the commands given by Moses'. While most scholars simply designate the alleged addition of the Hebrew word *tora* as a 'gloss' or interpolation, some scholars consider the plus in the Masoretic Text to be part of a comprehensive Deuteronomizing (Tov) or nomistic (Rofé) re-edition of an older edition of the Book of Joshua.[4]

The Peshitta version of Joshua at first sight seems to correspond with the Masoretic Text. Yet, although this Syriac text renders the Hebrew noun *tora*, it does so in the plural:

ܟܬܘܒ ܡܫܐ ܥܒܕܝ ܠܟ ܠܡܛܪ ܘܠܐ ܬܣܛܐ ܡܢܗ ܠܝܡܝܢ ܘܠܣܡܐܠ ܕܬܣܟܠ ܒܟܠ ܕܬܐܙܠ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܥܡ ܡܪܝ ܒܟ ܠܐ ܬܫܒܩ ܠܟ ܘܠܐ ܬܫܒܘܩ ܠܟ ܠܥܠ ܘܠܬܚܬ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܡܨܠܚ ܒܟܠ ܕܬܥܒܕ.

> Only be strong and very courageous, to observe and to do all the *laws* which Moses my servant has commanded you; do not turn from *them* to the right hand or to the left, that you may succeed wherever you go.

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[3] See the critical editions of the Hebrew text and the modern commentaries on Joshua. See further the discussion of the passage in M.N. van der Meer, 'Textual Criticism and Literary Criticism in Joshua 1:7 (MT and LXX)', in B.A. Taylor (ed.), *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Oslo, 1998* (SBL.SCS 51; Atlanta, 2001), 355–371, and M.N. van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation. The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses* (VT.S 102; Leiden etc., 2004), 210–222.

[4] E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua in Light of Its Textual History', in E. Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible. Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VT.S 72; Leiden etc., 1999), 385–396; A. Rofé, 'The Nomistic Correction in Biblical Manuscripts and Its Occurrence in 4QSam^{a}', *RdQ* 14 (1989), 247–254; A. Rofé, 'The Piety of the Torah-Disciples at the Winding-Up of the Hebrew Bible: Josh. 1:8; Ps. 1:2; Isa. 59:21', in H. Merklein, K. Müller, and G. Stemberger (eds.), *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition. Festschrift für Johann Maier zum 60. Geburtstag* (BBB 88; Bonn, 1993), 78–85.

The plural form of ܟܬܒܐ is not only indicated by the *seyame*, but also by the plural suffix in ܒܗ̇ܘܢ. In this respect the Syriac version seems to support the Greek version which also has a plural: ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν.[5] The question thus arises whether the Syriac version reflects either the influence of the Greek version of Joshua, a different Hebrew *Vorlage*, or its own interpretation of the Hebrew text as found in MT. Unfortunately, ancient and modern commentaries to the Syriac Joshua are of little help. As far as I can see, our passage is not quoted nor commented upon in the Syriac patristic literature.[6] Of the contemporary commentators only Hermann Mager and Hans Erbes devote attention to the variants discussed above.[7] Mager is of the opinion that the Syriac translator simply preferred plural renderings for collective nouns.[8] Erbes argues that the plural ܟܬܒܐ should be seen as 'an idiomatic and exegetical inner-Syriac development', but he does not explain why the Syriac translator decided to depart from the Hebrew text, assuming that his Hebrew text was identical to the Masoretic Text.

From a methodological point of view, it is illuminating to study the variants in their individual contexts.[9] As I have argued elsewhere,[10] the presence of the Hebrew word in the singular in the Masoretic text is best understood as integral part of the nomistic addition of Josh 1:7–8 in its entirety. By adding these verses to the Deuteronomistic stratum of Josh 1:1–6 and 1:9 (DtrH), a nomistic-deuteronomistic redactor (DtrN) stressed the priority of the *tora* over military affairs. A true leader of Israel had to persevere in *tora* study (verse 8) rather than in normal courage (verse 9 DtrH). The literary tensions which this sizeable addition created were smoothed out by the Greek translator, who employed

[5] Thus P. Sacchi, 'Giosuè 1,1–9: dalla critica storica a quella letteraria', in D. Garrone and D. Israel (eds.), *Storia e tradizione di Israele. Scritti in onore di J. Alberto Soggin* (Brescia, 1991), 237–253.

[6] See H. Mager, *Die Peschittho zum Buche Josua* (FThSt 19; Freiburg im Breisgau, 1916), 19–22: 'Die Väterzitate'. Išod'dad of Merv comments only upon verses 1, 2, 4, and 11 of Joshua 1.

[7] J.E. Erbes, *The Peshitta and the Versions. A Study of the Peshitta Variants in Joshua 1–5 in Relation to Their Equivalents in the Ancient Versions* (AUU-SSU 16; Uppsala, 1999), 87–88: 'entry # 21'.

[8] Mager, *Die Peschittho zum Buche Josua*, 48.

[9] A. van der Kooij, 'Zum Verhältnis von Textkritik und Literarkritik: Überlegungen anhand einiger Beispiele', in J.A. Emerton (ed.), *Congress Volume. Cambridge 1995* (VT.S 66; Leiden etc., 1997), 185–202; Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 155–159.

[10] Van der Meer, 'Textual Criticism and Literary Criticism'; Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 119–153 ('Redaction History of the Book of Joshua'), 214–218.

the inferential conjunction οὖν where the DtrN redactor marked his redactional bending of the older text towards the object of his interest by the restrictive particle רק. Since the Pentateuch makes no mention of a law given by Moses to Joshua with respect to the conquest of the land, the Greek translator of Joshua apparently understood 'all the law which Moses my servant commanded you' in a very general sense, that is in accordance with the instructions by Moses to Joshua found in Deut 3:21–22; 31:7–8: to remain steadfast, to cross the Jordan, to conquer the land and to divide it over the Israelite tribes. Since the Greek word νόμος in Hellenistic Jewish understanding almost always referred to the Jewish constitution as found in the Pentateuch,[11] using the word in this context of military instructions was not considered very appropriate. Hence the Greek translator left it out and produced a Greek rendering of the passage in which the redactional tension between verse 6 and 7 was smoothed out.

Does the Syriac version of Josh 1:7 reflect a similar exegesis of the Hebrew text? It is with respect to this question that the laureate and the present author had several discussions. Although much caution is required when trying to recover the intentions of a translator who followed his parent text so closely as the Peshitta translator of Joshua did, it still seems possible and plausible to me that this Syriac translator was led by the same interpretation of the Hebrew text as the Greek translator of the same book some centuries earlier. Since the Syriac version differs from the Greek on numerous points, the two translators arrived at the same harmonizing exegesis of Josh 1:7 apparently independently from one another.

As the Greek translator had done, the Syriac translator smoothened the harsh redactional junction at the beginning of verse 7. Although the Peshitta translator did not use an inferential particle, such as the Syro-Hexapla's translation of οὖν by ܗܟܢܐ, 'thus' or 'therefore',[12] he neither rendered the Hebrew particle רק by ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܡ as he did in Josh 6:15; 8:2; 13:6; 22:5, or by the phrase ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ used in Josh 11:22. Instead he employed the relatively neutral translation ܒܠܚܘܕ.[13] The

[11] C.H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London, 1935), 25–41; W. Gutbrod, 'νόμος κτλ.', in G. Kittel (ed.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* 4 (Stuttgart, 1942), 1016–1084; L. Monsengwo Pasinya, *La notion de nomos dans le Pentateuque grec* (AnBib 52; Rome, 1972).

[12] J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith, D.D.* (Oxford, 1903; reprinted Winona Lake, 1998), 103b.

[13] The Syriac Peshitta translator used ܒܠܚܘܕ for רק also in Josh 1:17, 18; 6:17, 24; 8:27; 13:14.

Syriac translator further harmonized the transition from verse 6 to 7 by adding the word ܠܟ to the imperative ܨܒܝܬ at the beginning of verse 6, so that the opening of the two verses now correspond more closely.

Even more important is the observation that for the Syriac translators of the Old Testament, the Syriac word ܢܡܘܣܐ apparently had a far more general sense than its Greek counterpart νόμος, since the Peshitta translators used the Syriac word frequently in places where the corresponding Hebrew text has words such as חק, 'a (distinct) regulation' or 'individual prescription', חקה, 'a (human) statute' or משפט, 'decision' or 'judgment'.[14] Already in the Syriac Pentateuch the cases where Syriac ܢܡܘܣܐ renders either חק (27 times) or חקה (36 times) outnumber the cases where it duly corresponds to Hebrew תורה (56 times).[15] Outside the Pentateuch, the situation is not very different:[16] Syriac ܢܡܘܣܐ frequently renders Hebrew חק,[17] חקה,[18] or משפט,[19] as well as other various other words for 'prescription'.[20]

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[14] For a general discussion of the equivalents for Hebrew תורה in the ancient versions of the Old Testament books, see G. Östborn, *Tōrā in the Old Testament. A Semantic Study* (Lund, 1945), 172–178.

[15] Counts are based on the very valuable and accurate tool which Dr. Jenner has created in cooperation with P.G. Borbone, J. Cook, and D.M. Walter: *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version* 5. *Concordance* 1. *The Pentateuch* (Leiden etc., 1997), 561–562.

[16] Searches have been performed on the basis of the Göttingen concordances by Strothmann and others: N. Sprenger, *Konkordanz zum syrischen Psalter* (GOF 1.10; I/10; Wiesbaden, 1976), 192–193; W. Strothmann, K. Johannes, and M. Zumpe, *Konkordanz zur syrischen Bibel. Die Propheten* 3. *M–ʿA* (GOF 1.25; Wiesbaden, 1984), 1674–1677; W. Strothmann, K. Johannes, and M. Zumpe, *Konkordanz zur syrischen Bibel. Die Mautbē* 4. *M–N* (GOF 1.33; Wiesbaden, 1995), 2311–2316; the Hebrew-Greek-Syriac concordance on Sirach by D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach mit syrisch-hebräischem Index* (Göttingen, 1973) and with the aid of the search engine of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon database (http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/).

[17] Jer 5:22; 32:11; Ps 119:124 (but 9a1 has ܦܩܕܢܐ instead of ܢܡܘܣܐ for Hebrew חקיך); Ps 147:19; Job 14:4; 28:26; Prov 8:29; Ezra 7:10, 11.

[18] 2 Sam 22:23 (= Ps 18:23); 2 Kgs 17:8, 19; Jer 33:25; Jer 43:11, 18; 44:5; 46:14; Job 38:33.

[19] Judg 18:7; 1 Sam 8:9, 11; 10:25; 27:11; 1 Kgs 18:28; 2 Kgs 11:14; 17:33, 34, 37, 40; Ps 119:73 (but 9a1 has ܦܩܕܢܐ instead of ܢܡܘܣܐ for Hebrew מצותיך); Neh 1:7; 9:13; 1 Chr 6:17; 16:14; 24:19; 2 Chr 4:7; 7:17; 8:14; Sir 30:38.

[20] Syriac ܢܡܘܣܐ renders ארח in Prov 22:25; דבר in Esth 1:13; Sir 11:15; דת in Esth 1:8, 13, 19; 2:12; 3:8; 4:16; Dan 6:9, 12, 15; 7:25; טעם in Dan 6:27; מסור in Prov 1:8; מצוה in Prov 4:4; Neh 1:9; 2 Chr 7:19; 17:4; and משטר in Job 38:33. In 2 Kgs 16:3 and 2 Chr 28:3 Syriac ܟܬܒܘܬ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܗܘ renders כתעבות הגוים. In Esth 4:2 the Syriac clause ܕܢܡܘܣܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܥܠܡ renders Hebrew כי אין לבוא, 'because it was not done to enter (the king's gate)'. Free renderings further occur frequently in 2 Chronicles: 2 Chr 23:13 (עמוד); 30:18 (ככתוב); 32:31; 34:31 (עדות ?). In 2 Chr 35:12 there is much confusion among the Peshitta manuscripts with respect to the rendering of the Hebrew phrase

In the Peshitta version of Josh 6:15, the Syriac word ܢܡܘܣܐ can be used in the context of the instruction (Hebrew משפט) to circle around Jericho seven times:

MT ויסבו את העיר כמשפט הזה שבע פעמים
They marched around the city according to this custom seven times.

P ܘܣܒܘ ܠܩܪܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܟܢܡܘܣܐ ܗܕܐ ܫܒܥ ܙܒܢ̈ܝ.
They marched around the city according to this *law* seven times.

Hence, it does not come as a surprise that the Syriac noun ܢܡܘܣܐ frequently occurs in the plural in renderings of Hebrew חקים or חקות.[21] There is also a number of cases where the Syriac translators of the Old Testament books harmonize the number of the nouns in Deuteronomistic sequences of words for divine instructions, as found, for instance, in 2 Kgs 17:37:[22]

MT ואת החקים ואת המשפטים והתורה והמצוה אשר כתב לכם
The statutes and the ordinances and the law and the commandment that he wrote for you.

P ܘܩܝܡܐ ܘܕܝܢ̈ܐ ܘܢܡܘܣ̈ܐ ܘܦܩܕ̈ܢܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܟܘܢ.
The statutes and the ordinances and the laws and the commandments that he wrote for you.

Similarly, passages where the Hebrew text can either be read as a singular construct or plural form of the Hebrew word, have been read as a plural of תורה / ܢܡܘܣܐ. This is particularly true of Hos 8:12, where—in spite of the Masoretic vocalization—the Hebrew word תורתי most likely reflects a plural form, given the context and the grammatical construction רבו תורתי, 'multitude of my law(s)', and where most other ancient translators also used a plural form:[23]

ככתוב בספר משה: 7a1*fam* has ܟܬܝܒ ܒܣܦܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܢܡܘܣܐ ܗܘ ܟܬܒ, 8a1*fam* ܟܬܝܒ, 9a1*fam* ܟܬܝܒ ܘܢܡܘܣܐ, and 12a1*fam* ܟܬܝܒ ܘܢܡܘܣܐ. The unexpected occurrence of the Syriac word ܢܡܘܣܐ in the phrase ܣܦܪ ܘܢܡܘܣܐ for Hebrew לא נמוה in Hab 1:12 may be the result of an early inner-Syriac corruption from ܐܠܗܐ ܣܦܪ, see A. Gelston, *The Peshitta of the Twelve Prophets* (Oxford, 1987), 119; M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament. An Introduction* (UCOP 56; Cambridge, 1999), 296.

[21] Thus for instance twenty-seven times in Deuteronomy.

[22] Similar harmonisations of singular Hebrew תורה into plural Syriac ܢܡܘܣܐ occur in Deut 30:10; Neh 9:14; and Zech 7:12.

[23] See the commentaries *ad loco*, e.g. A.A. McIntosh, *Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh, 1997), 325–327. Similar Syriac renderings occurs in Exod 16:4, 28; and Deut 33:10, where the number of והתורתך in the Syriac has been harmonized with that of the preceding plural noun משפטיך.

MT Ketib: אכתוב לו רבו תורתי; Qere: אכתב לו רבי תורתי
I wrote for him ten thousand (or: a multitude) of my law(s).

P ܘܐܟܬܘܒ ܠܗ ܪܘܒ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܢܡ̈ܘܣ̈ܝ
I wrote for him *the multitude of my laws*

LXX καταγράφω αὐτῷ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ
I will write for him *a multitude*, *but his statutes* (have been considered alien)

α´ γράψω αὐτῷ πληθυνομένους νόμους μου
I will write for him *multiplied laws of mine*

σ´ ἔγραψα αὐτῷ πλήθη νόμων μου
I *have written* a multitude of my *laws*

Vg *scribam ei multiplices leges meas*
I wrote for him *my manifold laws*

The Syriac translators thus had little difficulty with referring to the law or divine prescriptions by means of the plural form of the Syriac word ܢܡ̈ܘܣ̈ܐ. In this respect they differed from their Greek predecessors and the Aramaic Targumists who preferred the singular words νόμος and אורייתא,[24] even when the Hebrew has the plural form תורות.[25] There is therefore no reason to assume that the plural ܢܡ̈ܘܣ̈ܐ in Josh 1:7 reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from MT. Rather the change in number reflects an exegetical adaptation of the Hebrew text, similar but not identical to that offered by the Greek translator.

This impression is strengthened by the circumstance that in some other passages in the Old Testament where mention is made of the תורה given by Moses, the Peshitta translators made similar textual moves. In Exod 24:12 YHWH commands Moses to climb the mountain and receive the stone tablets. The formulation in MT את לחת האבן והתורה והמצוה is ambiguous. The copula between stone tablets and *tora* seems to suggest that there is a distinction between the two sets of regulations given by YHWH: stone tablets on the one hand and *tora* and

[24] See Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 176–177. The Targumists made use of the Greek loanword נמוס only in cases where human expressions were meant. Does this difference in the use of the Greek loanword into the same Aramaic language point to a polemic of the Syriac translators with *tora*-centered rabbinic Judaism and therefore to a Christian background of the Syriac translator of Joshua?

[25] The Greek translators rendered תורות into the singular phrase ὁ νόμος in Exod 16:28; 18:16, 20. In Isa 24:5 the singular is found in the Old Greek, as well as in 4QIsa^{c} (תורה), Targum Jonathan and Peshitta *vis-à-vis* the plural attested by the Masoretic Text, 1QIsa^{a}, and the Vulgate.

commandment on the other.[26] Since the context suggests that the two are identical, the Waw has been omitted in the Samaritan Pentateuch, 4QReworkedPentateuch^{b}, as well as the Old Greek translation of Exodus:[27] καὶ δώσω σοι τὰ πυξία τὰ λίθινα, τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς. The Peshitta translator retained the copula, but altered the number of the *tora* and the commandment into plural, so that his readership would understand that the ܢܡܘܣܐ ܘܦܩܕܢܐ refer to the laws and commandments written on the stone tablets:[28]

MT ואתנה לך את לחת האבן והתורה והמצוה אשר כתבתי להורתם
And I will give to you tablets of stone and the *tora* and the commandments which I have written to instruct them.

P ܘܐܬܠ ܠܟ ܠܘܚ̈ܐ ܕܐܒܢ̈ܐ ܘܢܡܘܣܐ ܘܦܩܕܢ̈ܐ ܕܟܬܒ̈ܬ ܕܐܠܦ ܠܗ̈ܘܢ.
And I will give to you tablets of stone and the *laws* and the commandments which I have written to instruct them.

Another parallel to Josh 1:7 comes from the same Peshitta version of Joshua. Josh 22:5 contains another late Deuteronomistic insertion from the same nomistic (DtrN) redactor who added Josh 1:7–8 and other passages to the Deuteronomistic version of the Book of Joshua.[29] The nomistic phraseology in the Hebrew text of Josh 22:5 is almost identical to Josh 1:7. Interestingly, the Syriac version of Josh 22:5, too, resembles Josh 1:7, since the phrase את המצוה ואת התורה has been rendered in the plural:

MT רק שמרו מאד לעשות את המצוה ואת התורה אשר צוה אתכם משה עבד יהוה לאהבה את יהוה אלהיכם וללכת בכל דרכיו ולשמר מצותיו ולדבקה בו ולעבדו בכל לבבכם ובכל נפשכם
But be very careful to do the commandment and the *tora* which Moses the servant of YHWH has commanded you, to love YHWH your God and to walk in his ways and keep his commandments and to hold fast to Him and to serve Him with all your heart and with all your soul.

[26] The copula is generally considered to be a Waw explicativum, e.g. W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford, 1910), § 154a; C. Houtman, *Exodus* 3. *Exodus 20–40* (COT; Kampen, 1996), 293.

[27] See J.W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SBL.SCS 30; Atlanta, 1990), 386.

[28] Cf. the interpretation of the Syriac text by Išoʿdad of Merv in his commentary on Exodus: ܕܡܬܠ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܠ, C. Van den Eynde (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament* 2. *Exode–Deutéronome* (CSCO 176, Syr. 80; Louvain, 1958), 45, line 21.

[29] Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 127–134, 217.

P ܘܛܒ ܬܛܪ ܒܥܘܕ ܠܥܒ. ܕܥܒܕ ܕܦܩܕܢܐ ܘܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܟ ܡܘܫܐ ܥܒܕ ܡܪܐ ܘܬܘܪܬܐ

But take good care and do the commandments and the *laws* which Moses the servant of the Lord has commanded you.

At first sight the fact that the Syriac translator employs the plural ܢܡܘܣܐ, seems to indicate that he simply preferred the plural form for collective nouns, as Mager argued.[30] Yet, the context of our passage makes clear that what Moses had commanded, had a specific content: first, the instruction to the Transjordanian tribes to aid the remaining Israelite tribes in their conquest of Cisjordanian Israel (Josh 1:12–18; 22:3; Deut 3:18–20), secondly their dismissal after the conquest (Josh 22:4), and thirdly the renewal of the Deuteronomistic pledge to serve YHWH with all the heart and mind (Josh 22:5b; Deut 10:12–13, 20; 11:1; 6:4–15; 13:4–5; 30:15–20). Therefore it is likely that the Syriac translator of Josh 22:5 had these instructions given by Moses to the Transjordanian tribes in mind, when he rendered the Hebrew word תורה by ܢܡܘܣܐ. As in Josh 1:7, the *tora* was not interpreted in a very general sense as the whole law of Moses, that is the Pentateuch, but as a reference to these specific instructions.

In 2 Kings 21 the nomistic redactor left his traces as well by adding verse 8.[31] Again his insertion caused the ancient translators problems understanding what was meant by all the law commanded by Moses to Israel's fathers:

MT ולא אסיף להניד רגל ישראל מן האדמה אשר נתתי לאבותם רק אם ישמרו לעשות ככל אשר צויתים ולכל התורה אשר צוה אתם עבדי משה

And I will not again cause the foot of Israel to wander from the land that I have given to their fathers, if only they are careful to do according to all that I have commanded them and according to all the *tora* which my servant Moses has commanded them.

P ܘܠܐ ܐܘܣܦ ܠܗܦܝܫ ܪܓܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܐܒܗ̈ܬܗܘܢ. ܐܦ ܐܢ ܢܛܪܘ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܟܟܠ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܒܕ ܡܪܐ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܟܟܠ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܟ ܡܘܫܐ ܥܒܕ ܡܪܐ.

And I will not again cause the foot of Israel to move out of the land that I have given to their fathers, if only they are careful and do according to everything that I have commanded them and all the *laws* that my servant Moses has commanded them.

[30] Mager, *Die Peschittho zum Buche Josua*, 48.

[31] See the discussion in P.S.F. van Keulen, *Manasseh through the Eyes of the Deuteronomists. The Manasseh Account (2 Kings 21:1–18) and the Final Chapters of the Deuteronomistic History* (OTS 38; Leiden etc., 1996), 168–171.

LXX καὶ οὐ προσθήσω τοῦ σαλεῦσαι τὸν πόδα Ισραηλ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἧς ἔδωκα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν, οἵτινες φυλάξουσιν πάντα, ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντολήν, ἣν ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς ὁ δοῦλός μου Μωυσῆς.

And I will not continue to move the foot of Israel from the land which I gave to their fathers, *whoever will observe everything* that I have commanded according to *every commandment* which my servant Moses commanded them.

Vg *et ultra non faciam commoveri pedem Israhel de terra quam dedi patribus eorum sic tamen si custodierint opere omnia quae praecepi eis et universam legem quam mandavit eis servus meum Moses.*

And I will no longer cause the foot of Israel to be removed from the land which I gave to their fathers, *if only in this way* they will observe to do everything which I have *prescribed* them and the entire law which my servant Moses has commanded them.

The double occurrence of the verb צוה, 'to command', first in the first person singular with YHWH as implicit subject, then in the third person singular with Moses as explicit subject, must have troubled ancient translators, as becomes clear from the Greek and Latin versions. Again, one might ask what is meant by 'all the law commanded by Moses' in this context. Since the preceding verse, 2 Kgs 21:7, describes Manasseh's sin of setting up a carved image of Asherah in the temple of Jerusalem, it is logical to think of the second of the ten commandments which explicitly prohibits this (Exod 20:4; Deut 5:8), a commandment that is repeated several times in the Pentateuch (Lev 26:1; Deut 4:16, 23, 25). Perhaps it was with this (particular set of) commandment(s) in mind that the Greek translator decided to depart from his stereotyped rendering of Hebrew תורה by νόμος and to chose the Greek lexeme ἐντολή instead. Possibly the same exegesis led the Syriac translator to render the Hebrew word *tora* by the plural ܦܘܩܕ̈ܢܐ, in order to refer to the specific regulations concerning the prohibition of setting up a carved image as found several times in the Pentateuch.

In 1 Chr 22:12–13, finally, the ideas and phraseology of Josh 1:7 have—once more—been taken up, but remoulded in order to strengthen the comparison between Joshua and Solomon as the ideal successors to respectively Moses (Deut 3:21–22; 31:7–8, 23; Joshua 1) and David (1 Chronicles 22–28):[32]

[32] See the commentaries on 1 Chronicles, e.g. R. Braun, *1 Chronicles* (WBC 16; Waco, Texas, 1986), 221–226; P.B. Dirksen, *1 Kronieken* (COT; Kampen, 2003),

MT אך יתן לך יהוה שכל ובינה ויצוך על ישראל ולשמור את תורת יהוה אלהיך אז תצליח אם תשמור לעשות את החקים ואת המשפטים אשר צוה יהוה את משה על ישראל חזק ואמץ אל תירא ואל תחת

Only may YHWH give you discretion and understanding and put you in charge over Israel and in order to observe the *tora* of YHWH your God. Then you shall succeed, if you observe to do the statutes and the ordinances which YHWH commanded Moses for Israel. Be strong and be courageous. Do not be afraid and do not be terrified.

P ܐܠܗܐ ܢܬܠ ܠܟ ܡܕܡ ܘܣܘܟܠܐ ܘܡܕܡ ܕܡܫܠܛ ܥܠ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܢܛܪ ܥܠ ܢܡܘܣ̈ܐ ܕܡܪܟ ܐܠܗܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ. ܘܗܫܐ ܐܢ ܢܛܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܦܩܕ̈ܝ ܘܢܡܘܣ̈ܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܠܡܠܦ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܗܟ ܬܬܚܙܩ ܘܬܬܬܪܥ ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠ ܘܠܐ ܬܬܒܗܬ ܥܕ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡ̈ܝܢ.

And He will give you wisdom and understanding and put you in charge over Israel; and observe the *laws* of the Lord your God *just as he commanded me*. Then you shall succeed. Now if you observe and do these commandments and the *laws and the instructions just as the Lord commanded Moses to teach Israel*, then you will be strong and courageous. Do not be afraid and further be not disturbed.

In the Syriac version of verse 12 we find again a plural rendering ܢܡܘܣ̈ܐ for the phrase תורה in the Hebrew text. In the following verse we find the same Syriac word in the list of instructions given by YHWH to Moses. The Syriac translator stressed the didactic function of these regulations by adding the phrase ܠܡܠܦ, as he had done in 1 Chr 16:40. Again, the change in number from תורה into ܢܡܘܣ̈ܐ may appear an insignificant and common translational transformation. Yet, in the present context, the *tora* of YHWH refers to the building of the temple (1 Chronicles 22–29) for which we find no counterpart in the Pentateuch. Facilitated by the absence of Moses as transmitter of the divine instruction in verse 12, the Syriac translator added to the words ܥܠ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ, ܘܢܛܪ

273–283. The recent monograph on this theme by C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua und Salomo. Eine Studie zu Autorität und Legitimität des Nachfolgers im Alten Testament* (VT.S 58; Leiden etc., 1995), unfortunately ignores this correspondence between the Chronicler and the nomistic redactor completely. Schäfer-Lichtenberger claims such a typological correspondence between Joshua and Solomon for the Deuteronomistic layer of the Former Prophets (Joshua to 2 Kings), but in the Deuteronomistic corpus there are no explicit links between the two successors, nor comparable adaptations of Joshua 1 in 1 Kings 1–2, the passage which describes the succession from David to Solomon.

the clause ܢܡܘܣܐ ܡܪܝܐ: 'the laws of the Lord your God just as he has commanded me'.

In the light of comparable transformations in Exod 24:12; Josh 22:5; 2 Kgs 21:8, and 1 Chr 22:12–13, it appears that in Josh 1:7, too, the change from a single unified תורה in the Hebrew text into a set of regulations, ܢܡܘܣܐ in the Syriac is not devoid of meaning. It seems plausible that in Josh 1:7 the Syriac translator was puzzled by the idea that Moses had given a separate law to Joshua. Both the Syriac and the Greek translators read the layered Hebrew text in a synchronic way and interpreted verse 7 in the light of its preceding context. Although the translational changes in the Syriac version *vis-à-vis* the Hebrew are minimal and seemingly meaningless, they deserve more attention than hitherto has been given.

FURTHER REMARKS ON ܐܝܬ CLAUSES IN CLASSICAL SYRIAC

Takamitsu Muraoka

It is a great pleasure to repay a debt I owe to our distinguished jubilaeus, who contributed a careful and interesting study to a recent volume presented to me on an occasion such as this.[1] In my short study published in 1977,[2] I outlined a structure of clauses having a ubiquitous particle ܐܝܬ as one of its constituents. I proposed to classify them into three kinds, each with a different functional value:

1. Existential clauses in which some entity, animate or inanimate, is stated to exist. In such cases the entity concerned is, contextually speaking, mostly indeterminate, e.g. Gen 19:8 ܗܐ ܠܝ ܐܝܬ ܪܬ ‘Behold, I have two daughters’.
2. Locative clauses in which some entity is said to be found or present in a certain location. The entity concerned is mostly something or somebody known in the discourse situation. This is to be expected. E.g. Acts 2:29 ܥܡܢ ܐܝܬ ܩܒܪܗ ‘His grave is with us’.
3. Copulative clauses in which our particle has lost its etymological, existential meaning, and serves only as a marker of equational relationship, A is B. As in the case of locative clauses, the logical subject is mostly an entity already known in the discouse situation. E.g., Matt 6:22 ܥܝܢܐ ܗܝ ܪܘܫܢܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ‘The eye is a lamp of the body’.

As another important point of syntax I pointed out that, relatively few exceptions apart,[3] our particle takes a pronominal suffix agreeing in gender and number either with an entity whose presence or location

[1] K.D. Jenner, ‘The Use of the Particle ܐܝܬ in the Syro-Hexaplaric Psalter and the Peshitta’, in M.F.J. Baasten and W.Th. van Peursen (eds.), *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (OLA 118; Leuven, 2003), 287–308.

[2] T. Muraoka, ‘On the Syriac Particle *it*’, *BiOr* 34 (1977), 21–22.

[3] Several more examples were noted subsequently by G. Goldenberg, ‘On Syriac Sentence Structure’, in M. Sokoloff (ed.), *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* (Ramat Gan, 1983), 97–140, esp. 122. Joosten discusses some more examples: J. Joosten, *The Syriac Language of the Peshitta and Old Syriac Versions of Matthew: Syntactic Structure, Inner-Syriac Developments and Translation Technique* (SSLL 22; Leiden, 1996), 100.

is predicated or with the logical subject of an equational clause. Goldenberg mentions seven examples with ܐܝܟ or ܠܝܬ with a definite noun phrase and stresses rightly that they all have a locative or prepositional adjunct.[4] A closer look reveals that the logical focus is not on the definite noun phrase, but on the existence or non-existence of the person or object in question. At Gen 37:29, for instance, ܘܗܘܐ ܠܒܘܪ ܘܗܐ ܕܝܘܣܦ ܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܘܗܐ ‘And Reuben returned to the pit, and behold there is no Joseph in it’. In other words, the clause is not about Joseph’s whereabouts, but his non-existence. Thus it is not a locative, but existential clause. Likewise Jer 27:18 ܘܐܢ ܢܒܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪ ܝܗ̈ ܕܝ̈ ܥܡ̈ܗ ‘and if they are prophets and there is the word of the Lord in them’. *Pace* Joosten,[5] Matt 2:16C[6] ܘܫܕܪ ܩܛܠ ܟܠ ܕܛܠ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ̈ܝܗ̈ ܒܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ‘and he sent, slaughtering all the children who were in Bethlehem’ need not be explained away as a result of careless revision. On the other hand, Joosten’s explanation for the other seeming exception basically agrees with my analysis presented here: Matt 27:61S[7] ܗܠܝܢ ܐܝܬ̈ܝܗ̈ ܕܡܪ̈ܝܡ ܘܐܚܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ, on which Joosten writes: ‘The clause informs us, not about where the Mary’s were, but that these women too were present at the burial of Jesus’. Whilst in terms of meaning, (A) and (B) belong together, on the morphosyntactic level (B) is affiliated with (C), and there appear to be areas of overlapping between these three categories, as indicated by the examples discussed above. Moreover, those overlappings appear to be indicative of a gradual, historical development in the Syriac syntax. This can be illustrated by an utterance similar in content and context to Gen 37:29, quoted above. This utterance is reported in the parallel passages of the synoptic Gospels in Greek unanimously with οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε—about the women who came to stand before an empty tomb:

Matt 28:6	SC	ܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܗܟܐ[8]
	P	ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܟܐ
Mark 16:6	SCP	ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܟܐ
Luke 24:6	S	ܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܗܟܐ
	C	ܠܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ
	P	ܠܐ ,ܡܐܢܐ

[4] Goldenberg, *Syriac Sentence Structure*, 122.

[5] *Syriac Language*, 100.

[6] C = Curetonian version; S = Sinaiticus; P = Peshitta.

[7] P is essentially identical.

[8] According to vocalized Peshitta editions, such as that of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the ܗܘܐ here is no enclitic, that is to say, the He is pronounced. On the tense value of this Perfect, see Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik* (2nd ed.; Leipzig, 1898), § 256.

We may postulate a historical evolution as ܐܝܟܡ ܐܝ > ܐܡ ܐܠ > ܡܐܠ. In any event, the P syntagm seems to represent the latest phase.

Reuben reports his discovery of Joseph's disappearance to his brothers as ܡܐܠܐ ܐܝ ܐܝܟ in the Syro-Hexaplaric version at Gen 37:30.[9] See also the following:

Gen 44:31	P	ܒܒ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܐ ܐܫܐ ܐܢ
	Syh	ܒܒ ܐܝܟ ܡܐܠܐ ܐܝ ܐܫܐ ܐܢ
	LXX	ἐν τῷ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μὴ ὂν τὸ παιδάριον μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν
Gen 28:16	P	ܐܡ ܐܝܫܟ ܐܝܟ ܐܠ ܐܝܫ
		'Truly the Lord is at this place'
	Syh	ܐܫܡ ܐܟܬܘܫ ܐܝܟ ܡܐܠܐ ܠܘܟ
	LXX	ὅτι ἔστιν κύριος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ

More examples of a similar nature may be found in the Pentateuch at: Gen 20:11, 27:15, 44:31; Exod 17:7, 19:16, 25:22, 32:2, 33:16, 34:1; Lev 22:3; Num 4:25, 5:17, 19:18; Deut 9:10, 10:2, 31:17.

A number of scholars have hinted at a likelihood of Greek influence in the use of our particle as copula equivalent to the Greek existential verb par excellence, εἶναι in its various inflected forms.[10] The frequency statistics of select corpora of the Syriac literature are revealing.[11]

(1) The percentage of the suffixed particle in the P(eshitta) Pentateuch compared with the figures for the P New Testament on one hand (3 : 35) and the difference between the P Psalms and its Syro-Hexaplaric version on the other (10 : 59) are quite striking. The influence of Greek as the major factor for this diachronic development is not to be doubted.

(2) The absolute incidence of the particle whether bare or suffixed is also interesting. If the Pentateuch were as long as the New Testament, the particle would have occurred there 421 times, which is a mere 31% of the figure for the New Testament.[12] Compare also the figures for the Psalms P and Psalms Syh: 90 : 170. Here again, the influence of Greek is to be suspected.

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[9] P. de Lagarde, *Bibliothecae syriacae* (Göttingen, 1892). The main text of the Leiden Peshitta edition reads: ܒܐܝ ܐܝܟ, whereas a fifth centy manuscript already shows ܡܐܠ.

[10] T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 66; Joosten, *Syriac Language*, 107; Jenner, 'Use of the Particle ܐܝܟ', 307.

[11] The syntagmas compounded with the enclitic ܐܝܡ.

[12] The calculation is based on the page numbers of the two corpora in the Mosul edition of the Peshitta: Pent. 286, NT 426. Thus (283 ÷ 286) × 426 = 421.

	Bare	Suffixed		Total
Pentateuch P	273	10	(3%)	283
New Testament P	860	463	(35%)	1323[13]
Psalms P	81	9	(10%)	90
Psalms Syh	70	100[14]	(59%)	170
Aphrahat, Demonstrations	327	112	(26%)	439
Bardaisan, Laws of Countries	72	15	(17%)	87

The following complete listing of the examples for Genesis chapters 4 to 7 confirms that, in the Syro-Hexapla, a translation from Greek, our particle became an almost mechanical equivalent of the Greek existential verb in its various functions as well as inflectional forms (finite verb, infinitive, participle):

1. Locative: 4:9a, 7:22, 23.
2. Existential: 6:4a, 17ab; 7:15.
3. Copulaic in nominal clause: 4:9b, 4:20, 21, 22; 6:2, 6:3, 6:4b, 9, 21; 7:6, 19.
4. Imperfective, compound tense: 4:17, 6:12.

The only case where our particle is wanting in the Syro-Hexapla is Gen 6:21 where the Imperfect ܥܒܕ stands alone.

Gen 4:9	LXX	ποῦ ἐστιν Αβελ ὁ ἀδελφός σου;
	Syh	ܐܝܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܒܠ ܐܚܘܟ ܕܡ
	P	ܐܝܟܐ ܗܒܠ ܐܚܘܟ
ibid.	LXX	μὴ φύλαξ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μού εἰμι ἐγώ;
	Syh	ܗܘ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܢܛܪܐ ܕܐܚܝ
	P	ܐܡܪܬ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܢܛܪܐ
4:17	LXX	ᾠκοδόμησεν πόλιν
	Syh	ܒܢܐ ܗܘ ܒܕܡ ܐܬܪܐ
	P	ܒܢܐ ܗܘ ܒܕܡ
4:20	LXX	οὗτος ἦν ὁ πατήρ . . .
	Syh	. . . ܗܘ ܒܕܡ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܐ
	P	. . . ܗܘ ܒܕܡ ܕܐ

Similarly Gen 4:21, 22

[13] According to G.A. Kiraz, *A Computer-Generated Concordance to the Syriac New Testament according to the British and Foreign Bible Society's Edition* (Leiden, 1993), 1.96–102, 5.3424–3454.

[14] According to Jenner, 'Use of the Particle ܐܢ'.

Gen 6:2	LXX	καλαί εἰσιν
	Syh	ܫܦܝܪܬ ܗܝܢܘܢ
	P	ܫܦܝܪ ܗܢܘܢ
6:3	LXX	διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας
	Syh	ܒܣܪ ܕܗܘ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܥܠܡ
	P	ܐܢ ܒܣܪ ܠܥܠܡ
6:4	LXX	οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
	Syh	ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܐܪܥܐ
	P	ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܢܫ ܐܝܬ
ibid.	LXX	ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν οἱ γίγαντες . . .
	Syh	ܐܝܬ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘ
	P	(quite different)
6:9	LXX	τέλειος ὢν ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ . . .
	Syh	. . . ܐܝܬ ,ܬܡܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܒܕܪܗ
	P	,ܬܡܝܡ ܐܢܫ ܒܕܪ
6:12	LXX	ἦν κατεφθαρμένη
	Syh	ܐܫܚܬ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܒܫܐ
	P	ܟܠ ܒܫܐ
6:17	LXX	ἐν ᾗ ἐστιν πνεῦμα ζωῆς
	Syh	ܕܐܝܬ ܪܘܚ ܚܝ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ
	P	ܕܐܝܬ ܪܘܚ ܚܝ ܒܗ
ibid.	LXX	ὅσα ἐὰν ᾖ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
	Syh	ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܒܐܪܥܐ
	P	ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܠܗ
6:21	LXX	ἔσται σοί . . .
	Syh	. . . ܠܟ ܢܗܘܐ
	P	. . . ܠܟ ܢܗܘܐ
7:6	LXX	Νωε δὲ ἦν ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων
	Syh	ܘܢܘܚ ܒܪ ܫܢ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܒܢ ܫܢ
	P	ܘܢܘܚ ܒܪ ܫܢ
7:15	LXX	ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν πνεῦμα ζωῆς
	Syh	ܕܐܝܬ ܪܘܚ ܒܗ ܚܝ
	P	ܕܐܝܬ ܪܘܚ ܐܢ ܒܗ
7:19	LXX	τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλά, ἃ ἦν ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
	Syh	ܟܠ ܛܘܪ ܪܡ ܗܘ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܡ ܬܚܝ ܕܫܡܝ
	P	ܟܠ ܛܘܪ ܪܡ ܗܘ ܕܬܚ ܕܫܡܝ
7:22	LXX	ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς
	Syh	ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܢܗܘ ,ܬܢܫܐ
	P	ܟܕ ܝܒܫ

7:23	LXX	ὃ ἦν ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς γῆς
	Syh	ܕܗܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܥܠ ܦܢܝ ܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܟܠܗ
	P	ܕܗܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܥܠ ܐܦܝ ܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ

In conclusion, given the partial affinity mentioned above between the three categories and the statistical variation between the various corpora of the Syriac literature it is probably more accurate to say that the use of our particle as pure copula was not totally foreign to the 'spirit' of the Syriac language and its development was reinforced by constant exposure on the part of some Syriac writers to Greek. That the copulaic use of our particle was to a certain extent an organic evolution within Syriac itself is made plausible by the fact that an analogous development is attested in other Aramaic idioms, which were exposed to Greek influence to a lesser degree, if at all.[15]

[15] See, for instance, Targum Onkelos at Lev 13:34 מחזותי ליתוהי עמיק 'its appearance is not deep'; cf. Joosten, *Syriac Language*, 106–107.

CLAUSE HIERARCHY AND DISCOURSE STRUCTURE IN THE SYRIAC TEXT OF SIRACH 14:20–27

*Wido van Peursen**

1. *Introduction*

The laureate of the present volume initiated and supervised a number of research projects related to the Syriac Bible. One of these projects was CALAP (Computer-Assisted Linguistic Analysis of the Peshitta), a joint research project of the Peshitta Institute Leiden (PIL) and the Werkgroep Informatica Vrije Universiteit (WIVU). This project concerned an interdisciplinary computer-assisted linguistic, text-critical and text-historical study of the Peshitta of Kings and Ben Sira.[1] Perhaps even more than other projects, CALAP demonstrated the openness of our laureate to innovative research methods and to the role that information technology can play in them, his willingness to co-operate in interdisciplinary research projects, and the high value he attached to a consistent and systematic linguistic analysis for biblical exegesis. It is appropriate, therefore, to give in the present article a small sample of the interaction between grammatical analysis and textual interpretation.

2. *Texts and their Building Blocks*

Recent decades show an increased interest among linguists in texts as unified structures. A text differs from a collection of unrelated sentences in that it can be defined as a unified whole. But what are the binding elements that make a text a unified whole? What are the building blocks of a text and how are they put together?

The question of how we should define the minimal building blocks of a text can be approached from different points of view. From a

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[1] CALAP was a five-year research project, which was completed at the beginning of 2005. The research will be continued in a new project called 'Turgama: Computer-Assisted Analysis of the Peshitta and the Targum: Text, Language and Interpretation', supervised by the present author and, like CALAP, funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research.

syntactical perspective, the minimal building block of a text is the clause, which can be defined as any construction in which predication occurs. If the definition of the minimum building block is based on conceptual criteria, the minimal building block is a discourse segment. In many cases clauses and discourse segments coincide,[2] but in the case of embedding it is preferable to take the embedded clause and its host clause together as a single discourse unit.[3]

A distinction that is closely related to the distinction between clause and discourse segment is that between embedding and hypotaxis. Embedding is the phenomenon that one clause functions as a constituent within another clause. Hypotaxis concerns the way in which clauses are connected.[4] Traditional grammars often take embedding and hypotaxis together in the category 'subordination', but in reality they are two different phenomena.

The composition of the building blocks into a large whole can be described in terms of conceptual relations or in terms of the linguistic markers of conceptual relations. The logical or conceptual relations between the individual discourse units are called coherence. The formal linguistic signals marking the relationships between the units are called cohesion.[5] One of the features that give a text cohesion is hypotaxis, which can be defined as the grammaticalization of rhetorical relations.[6]

In the present contribution we will focus on the discourse structure and clause hierarchy in Sirach 14:20–27. The text is given in Table 1.

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[2] Cf. W.C. Mann and S.A. Thompson, 'Rhetorical Structure Theory: Toward a Function Theory of Text Organization', *Text* 8 (1988), 243–281, esp. 248; idem, 'Relational Propositions in Discourse', *Discourse Processes* 9 (1986), 57–90, esp. 59.

[3] Cf. A. Verhagen, 'Subordination and Discourse Segmentation Revisited, or: Why Matrix Clauses May Be More Dependent than Complements', in T. Sanders, J. Schilperoord, and W. Spooren (eds.), *Text Representation. Linguistic and Psycholinguistic Aspects* (Human Cognitive Processing 8; Amsterdam–Philadelphia, 2001), 337–357, esp. 337–340; J. Schilperoord and A. Verhagen, 'Conceptual Dependency and the Clausal Structure of Discourse', in J.-P. Koenig (ed.), *Discourse and Cognition. Bridging the Gap* (Stanford, 1998), 141–163, esp. 142–148.

[4] C. Matthiessen and S.A. Thompson, 'The Structure of Discourse and "Subordination"', in J. Haiman and S.A. Thompson (eds.), *Clause Combining in Grammar and Discourse* (Amsterdam–Phildelphia, 1988), 275–329; Verhagen, 'Subordination and Discourse Segmentation', 338.

[5] T.J.M. Sanders, W.P.M. Spooren, and L.G.M. Noordman, 'Toward a Taxonomy of Coherence Relations', *Discourse Processes* 15 (1992), 1–35, esp. 2–3.

[6] For further details see W.Th. van Peursen, *Language and Interpretation in the Syriac Text of Ben Sira: A Comparative Linguistic and Literary Study* (forthcoming in the MPIL series), Part V.

text	verse	line[7]
ܡܬܚܟܡ ,ܫܘܦܪ ܠܚܟܡ	14:20	1
ܘܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܗ	14:20	2
ܡܠܦ ܡܬܒܘܠܠ ܫܘܦܪ	14:20	3
ܘܠܒܬ ܠܗ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܡܬܒܘܠ	14:21	4
ܫܘܦܪ ܠܗ ܡܬܚܫܒ	14:21	5
ܡܫܡܚ ܠܒ ܒܚܟܡ ܒܢܦܫ	14:22	6
ܒܚ ܡܕܡ ܡܬܒܥ ܠܗ	14:22	7
ܒܢܝ ܚܝ ܫܠܚ ܒܝܕ	14:23	8
ܒܥܝ ܡܕܡ ܫܚܝܩ ܠܗ	14:23	9
ܫܒܚ ,ܒܪܟ ܡܒܪ	14:24	10
,ܡܫܬܒܚ ܒܫܡ ܩܕܫ	14:24	11
ܡܠܟ ܡܒܪܟ ܡܒܪ	14:25	13
ܫܡܩ ܠܗ ,ܡܕܥ ܡܒܝ	14:26	14
ܒܚ ܡܕܡ ܫܒܚܝ ܒܫܒ	14:26	15
ܡܒܪ ܚܝ ܫܠܡ ܒܫܒ	14:27	16
ܠܠܒ ܡܕܡ ܫܒܪܚ ܒܫ	14:27	17

Table 1: Sirach 14:20–27 in Syriac

3. *Discourse Segmentation in Sirach 14:20–27*

Sirach 14:20–27 is the first stanza of 14:20–15:10, one of the eight poems that structure the book of Ben Sira.[8] The poem consists of two parts; the first (14:20–27) focuses on the search and discovery of Wisdom; the second (15:1–10) on the benefits of Wisdom for him who finds her.[9] Most ancient Syriac Biblical manuscripts insert a delimitation marker before 14:20.[10] There is a high degree of syntactic cohesion in 14:20–27:

[7] We have skipped line number 12 to facilitate comparison with the Hebrew text, which has an additional line between Lines 11 and 13 (see below).

[8] The other poems are 1:1–10; 4:11–19; 6:18–37; 24:1–34; 32:14–33:6; 38:24–39:11; 51:13–30; cf. W.Th. van Peursen, 'Wijsheid van Jezus Sirach', in J. Fokkelman and W. Weren (eds.), *De Bijbel literair: Opbouw en gedachtengang van bijbelse geschriften en hun onderlinge relaties* (Zoetermeer, 2003), 475–486, esp. 475–477.

[9] On the tendency to divide poems into two parts, see E.D. Reymond, *Innovations in Hebrew Poetry. Parallelism and the Poems of Sirach* (SBL Studies in Biblical Literature 9; Atlanta, 2004), 132; R.A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach. A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature 8; Atlanta, 1995), 63; on 14:20–15:10 see also Argall, ibid., 132.

[10] K.D. Jenner and W.Th. van Peursen, 'Unit Delimitations and the Text of Ben Sira' in M. Korpel and J. Oesch (eds.), *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division* (Pericope 3; Assen, 2002), 144–201, esp. 150, 181. For literary and syntactic reasons to regard

In Lines 2–17 twelve clauses begin with the conjunction ܘ-, the three remaining clauses with ܕ-; in Lines 2–17 (except for Line 6) each clause contains an imperfect of the 3rd person masc. sing. and each verb has the same subject (namely the 'man' mentioned in Line 1). In Lines 4–17 (with the exception of Line 13) the fem. sing. suffix pronoun is repeated twelve times, each time with the same referent (namely Wisdom).

The poem opens with ܐܝܟ ܓܒܪܐ. ܠ- ,ܓܒܪܐ is an idiomatic expression for 'happy the one who . . .'.[11] We take ܐܝܟ as a specification to ,ܓܒܪܐ (rather than the subject of a clause of which ,ܓܒܪܐ is the predicate), which means that ܐܝܟ ,ܓܒܪܐ is a single noun phrase.[12] This phrase is extended by a number of parallel clauses. Since these can be regarded as specifications to the head, we could regard the whole passage as one large one-member clause. Such a segmentation of the text (which is in fact characterized by the absence of any segmentation at all) may be correct according to traditional grammar, but is not satisfying.[13] If we omit a number of lines, even if we omit Line 3–17, what remains is a segment that makes sense on its own.

To grasp the discourse segmentation of this passage, we need to reconsider the concepts of embedding and dependency. In traditional grammars of Syriac and other Semitic languages embedded clauses are regarded as dependent on their host clauses. In this definition all clauses introduced by ܕ- in Sir 14:20–27 and their parallel extensions with ܘ- depend on Line 1. This definition of dependency, however, is no longer current in general linguistics. J. Schilperoord and A. Verhagen have argued that it is preferable to describe the relationship of dependency in the opposite direction: The host clause is dependent on the embedded clause for its conceptual realisation.[14] They formulate the following 'condition of discourse segmentation':

14:20 as the opening of a new textual unit see also J. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel: Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira* (BBB 37; Bonn, 1971; reprint: BZAW 272; Berlin–New York, 1999), 106; Reymond, *Innovations in Hebrew Poetry*, 96. Reymond notes that the opening and closing lines of 14:20–15:10 are marked in the Hebrew text by the repetition of the root חכם (similarly in the Syriac text).

[11] Cf. W.Th. van Peursen, Review of N. Calduch Benages, J. Ferrer, and J. Liesen, *La Sabiduría del Escriba. Edición diplomática de la versión siriaca del libro de Ben Sira según el Códice Amprosiano, con traducción española e inglesa* (Biblioteca Midrásica 26; Estella, 2003), *JSJ* 36 (2005), 94–101, esp. 96–97.

[12] For a similar view about Hebrew אשרי see R. Sappan, חיחוד חתחבירי של לשון השירה המקראית בתקופתה הקלאסית (*The Typical Features of the Syntax of Biblical Poetry in its Classical Period*) (Jerusalem, 1981), 136; B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, 1990), 681.

[13] Cf. Verhagen, 'Subordination and Discourse Structure', 341.

[14] Schilperoord–Verhagen, 'Conceptual Dependency', 150.

> If a constituent of a matrix-clause A is conceptually dependent on the contents of a subordinate clause B, then B is not a separate discourse segment.[15]

This turning upside down of the notion of dependency has important consequences for the delimitation of discourse segments. If we take into account this 'condition of discourse segmentation', the first segment of Sir 14:20–27 consists of the matrix clause (the first line) and the first embedded clause. While the matrix needs the first subordinate clause for its conceptualisation, it can dispense with the others.[16]

4. *Clause Hierarchy in Sirach 14:20–27*

From the preceding discussion we can conclude that the relative clause in Line 2 constitutes a discourse segment together with its head in Line 1. In the remaining lines, the division into discourse segments runs parallel with that into clauses. In the present section we wish to go a step further than segmentation and investigate what hierarchical functions can be assigned to the segments.

Taking the clause as the minimum syntactic building block of a text, the structure of a text can be described in terms of the relationships between clauses. For this description we follow a hierarchical approach that has been developed by the WIVU for Biblical Hebrew and that has been extended and applied to Syriac in CALAP. The basic assumption of this approach is that every clause is connected to a clause in the preceding context. The preceding clause is called the mother, the clause following is called the daughter.[17]

The CALAP analysis follows a bottom-up procedure. This means that it starts with the smaller units from which larger patterns are constructed.[18] It is also incremental in that it starts with the first line of a textual unit, establishes the relationship with the second line, then

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[15] Cf. Schilperoord–Verhagen, 'Conceptual Dependency', 150; Verhagen, 'Subordination and Discourse Segmentation', 340.

[16] Cf. Verhagen, 'Subordination and Discourse Segmentation', 342: 'The unit of a matrix and the first subordinate clause is never conceptually dependent on a second one. Consequently, all further subordinate clauses can be properly characterised as separate discourse segments'; see also Schilperoord–Verhagen, 'Conceptual Dependency', 149–150.

[17] H.J. Bosman, 'Computer Assisted Clause Description of Deuternomy 8', *Proceedings of the Fourth International Colloquium Bible and Computer: Desk and Discipline: The Impact of Computers on Bible Studies* (Paris, 1995), 76–100, esp. 78.

[18] Cf. E. Talstra, 'Clause Types and Textual Structure. An Experiment in Narrative Syntax', in idem, (ed.), *Narrative and Comment. Contributions Presented to Wolfgang Schneider on the Occasion of his Retirement as a Lecturer of Biblical Hebrew at the Theologische Hochschule in Wuppertal* (Amsterdam, 1995), 166–180, esp. 170: 'It is

proceeds to the third line to establish to which of the preceding lines it belongs, and so on.

It follows that the first task in the hierarchical analysis is to establish to which preceding clause a certain clause is related. This is done on the basis of a number of parameters, such as morphological correspondences and clause types. A clause is not necessarily related to the directly preceding clause. As a consequence, sometimes a mother clause can have more than one daughter.[19]

The second task is to determine whether the relationship between two clauses is one of co-ordination or dependency. In this context we use 'dependency' to indicate text-hierarchical relations between segments, not as a criterion for discourse segmentation. The type of relationship is established on the basis of the number of linguistic elements that have 'connective effects', such as morphological correspondences between clause constituents, lexical correspondences, clause types and the set of actors in the text.[20] For example, clauses with reference to a person, number or gender in verbal forms or personal pronouns are considered dependent on clauses with an explicit subject with reference to the same person, number and gender.

The result of our text-hierarchical analysis is presented in the lay-out of Table 2. In this table, indentation is used to mark the relations between clauses. Clauses that are formally and syntactically parallel receive the same indentation. Clauses that are dependent on a preceding clause receive one indentation more than the mother clause.[21] Line 1 marks the beginning of a new textual unit and is therefore not indented. Line 2 is an embedded element of Line 1. In other words, Line 1 is the mother, Line 2 is the daughter. The two other clauses introduced by **-ג** in Lines 4 and 14 are parallel to the clause in Line 2. All other clauses in this section are introduced by **-ס**. Lines 3, 5 and 15 continue the relative clauses with **-ג** in the preceding lines. The other clauses are in most cases parallel to the preceding one. However, because of morphological

necessary to concentrate first on recognizing the patterns of linguistic elements and their connective effects in order to find what clause features contribute to the position of a clause in a textual organization. This means, the proposal is not to interpret smaller elements by positing them into larger, more abstract pattern frames, such as "episodes", or "paragraphs", but to construct larger patterns which are built from smaller ones. In other words, the approach is "bottom-up" rather than "top-down".'

[19] Bosman, 'Deuteronomy 8', 78.

[20] E. Talstra, 'Clause Types and Textual Structure', 170; idem, 'A Hierarchy of Clauses in Biblical Hebrew Narrative', in E. van Wolde (ed.), *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible: Papers of the Tilburg Conference 1996* (Biblical Interpretation Series 29; Leiden, 1997), 85–118, esp. 89.

[21] Cf. Talstra, 'Hierarchy of Clauses', 91.

line	verse	text
1	14:20	[VWBWHJ [L–GBR> <sp>]]
2	14:20	[D–<Re>] [B–XKMT> <Co>] [NHW> <Pr>] [RN> <PC>]
3	14:20	[W–<Cj>] [B–SKWLTNWT> <Co>] [NTHG> <Pr>]
4	14:21	[D–<Re>] [NPN> <Pr>] [<L >WRXTH <Co>] [LBH <Ob>]
5	14:21	[W–<Cj>] [B–CBJLJH <Co>] [NSTKL <PC>]
6	14:22	[W–<Cj>] [L–MPQ <Pr>] [BTRH <Aj>] [>JK M<QBN> <Aj>]
7	14:22	[W–<Cj>] [<L CBJLJH <Co>] [NHW> <Pr>] [KMJN <PC>]
8	14:23	[W–<Cj>] [NDJQ <Pr>] [<LJH <Co>] [MN KWJN <Aj>]
9	14:23	[W–<Cj>] [<L TR<JH <Co>] [NHW> <Pr>] [Y>T <PC>]
10	14:24	[W–<Cj>] [NCR> <Pr>] [XDRJ BJTH <Aj>]
11	14:24	[W–<Cj>] [B–>SJH <Aj>] [NQWC <Pr>] [SKWHJ <Ob>]
12	14:25	[W–<Cj>] [NCR> <Pr>] [B–MCRJ> VB> <Aj>]
13	14:26	[D–<Re>] [NRM> <Pr>] [>JDWHJ <Ob>] [<L SWKJH <Aj>][22]
14	14:26	[W–<Cj>] [BJNT SR<PJTH <Aj>] [NHW> <Pr>] [<MR <PC>]
15	14:27	[W–<Cj>] [NTB <Pr>] [B–VLLH <Aj>] [MN CWB> <Aj>]
16	14:27	[W–<Cj>] [B–MDJRJH <Aj>] [NHW> <Pr>] [MVJL <PC>]

Table 2: Clause hierarchy of Sirach 14:20–27 in Syriac[23]

and syntactical correspondences, we take Line 7 as parallel to Line 5, rather than to Line 6, which means that Line 5 is the mother clause of both Line 6 and Line 7. In fact, Line 6 is remarkable. An epexegetical infinitive would perfectly fit the context, and conform with Classical Syriac syntax,[24] but the Waw makes this a separate clause and hence the infinitive is to be understood as predicative: 'and (he who is) to go out after her'. Perhaps it is best to understand this close as elliptical for something like ܘܢܦܩ ܥܡܗ ܘܢܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ or ... ܠܡܦܩ ܒܬܪܗ.

A beatitude such as the one in Sir 14:20–27 with a number of lines hypotactically related to the first clauses differs from sections in which ܐ-ܕ ,ܡܟܝܠ is repeated,[25] as in Sir 25:8–9 (see Table 3).

[22] 7h3 and 8a1 read WNRM>!

[23] Transliteration alphabet: >BGDHWZXVJKLMNS<PYQRCT.

[24] Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik* (2nd ed.; Leipzig 1898; repr. with additional materials: Darmstadt, 1966), § 286; and see below on the Hebrew text.

[25] On the sequence of beatitudes (with repetition of 'happy ...'), see H. Lichtenberger, 'Makarismen in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament', in D.J.A. Clines, H. Lichtenberger, and H.-P. Müller (eds.), *Weisheit in Israel. Beiträge des Symposiums 'Das Alte Testament und die Kultur der Moderne' anlässlich des 100. Geburtstags Gerhard von Rads (1901–1971), Heidelberg, 18.–21. Oktober 2001* (Altes Testament und Moderne 12; Münster–Hamburg–London 2003), 167–182, esp. 171–174; E. Lipiński, 'Macarismes et psaumes de congratulation', *RB* 75 (1968), 321–367, esp. 363. This is also a fundamental difference between Sirach 14:20–27 (both in Syriac and in Hebrew) and the beatitudes in 4Q525 2 II 1–6 and Matthew 5:3–12; *pace* É. Puech, '4Q525 et les péricopes des béatitudes en Ben Sira et Matthieu', *RB* 98 (1991), 80–106, and H.-J. Fabry, 'Die Seligpreisungen in der Bibel und in Qumran', in C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger (eds.), *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (BEThL 149; Leuven, 2002), 189–200, esp. 193.

1	25:8	[VWBWHJ / L–B<LH / D–>NTT> VBT> <sp><sp><Su>]
2	25:8	[D–<Re>] [L> <Ng>] [DBR <Pr>]
		[PDN> <Ob>] [B–TWR> W–B–XMR> <Aj>] [>K–XD> <Aj>]
3	25:8	[VWBWHJ <Su>]
4	25:8	[L–D–<Re>] [LCNH <Su>] [L> <Ng>] [QLQLH <PO>]
5	25:8	[W–<Cj>] [L> <Ng>] [PLX <Pr>]
6	25:8	[L–D–<Re>] [Z<WR <PC>] [MNH <Aj>]
7	25:9	[VWBWHJ / L–GBR> <sp><Su>]
8	25:9	[D–<Re>] [>CKX <Pr>] [RXM> <Ob>]
9	25:9	[W–<Cj>] [MCT<> <Pr>] [L–>DN> <Aj>]
10	25:9	[D–<Re>] [CM<> <Pr>]
11	25:9	[VWBWHJ / L–GBR> <sp><Su>]
12	25:9	[D–<Re>] [L> <Ng>] [TBRTH <PO>] [MSKNWT> <Su>]
13	25:9	[W–<Cj>] [L> <Ng>] [TBRTH <PO>] [<NWJWT> <Su>]

Table 3: Series of beatitudes in Sir 25:8–9

The construction in which ܡܛܠ (or the Hebrew אשרי) governs a larger section is reminiscent of Psalm 1.[26] It can be compared with other cases in Sirach of 'syntactic dependence of a large number of cola on a single verb', about which Reymond remarks: 'In each instance, this coincides with a consistent grammatical structure, manifested through either the repetition of minor elements, consistent morphological forms, or the consistent sequence of syntactic elements.[27]

5. *The Thematic Organisation of Sirach 14:20–27*

Sirach 14:20–27 opens with a beatitude on the person who reflects on wisdom, followed by an elaboration using a number of metaphors. The background of the metaphors is diverse. Many commentators see a thematic break between 14:20 and 14:21. This break is claimed to divide the beatitude on the one searching for Wisdom (14:20–21) from the section on Wisdom's house (14:22–25).[28] However, from a semantic-lexical perspective, 14:21 is connected both to the preceding and to the verses following: ܢܨܛܚ connects 14:21 with ܪܕ and ܪܟܡ in 14:20,

[26] On other agreements in content and structure between Psalm 1 and Sir 14:20–27 (and 15:1–10) see J. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 10; idem, 'Zur frühen Wirkungsgeschichte von Ps 1', in E. Haag and F.-L. Hossfeld (eds.), *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. Beiträge zur Theologie der Psalmen* (Fs. H. Groß; SBB 13; Stuttgart 1986), 207–222, esp. 214–217 (= idem, *Gottes Weisheit unter uns. Zur Theologie des Buches Sirach* (HBS 6; Freiburg, 1995), 88–100 esp. 94–96); O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira* (OBO 1; Freiburg–Göttingen, 1973), 81–82.

[27] Reymond, *Innovations in Hebrew Poetry*, 108.

[28] Thus N. Peters, *Das Buch Ben Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus* (EHAT 25; Münster, 1913), 126; similarly, but with different labels for 14:22–23 or 14:23–25, Puech, '4Q525', 93; Marböck, 'Wirkungsgeschichte von Psalm 1', 214; idem, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 108–109.

but the repetition of ܥܕܠܬ in 14:21 and 14:22 relates it to the verse following.[29]

In the verses following there is a thematic development as well: there is progression from observing Wisdom's dwelling (14:22–23) to camping next to her (14:24–25), and to actually moving in with her (14:26–27).[30] In 14:24–25 Wisdom is assumed to dwell in a house; in 14:26–27 she is depicted as a tree with branches and the person in search of Wisdom is compared to a bird building a nest in her.[31]

Accordingly, there seems to be consensus that 14:20–27 displays thematic diversity, mainly caused by the use of different sets of metaphors. But here the consensus stops. The exact thematic or semantic division of the text is disputed. Although there can be little doubt that in 14:26 Sirach turns to a new set of metaphors, the division of the first part of the text is less clear because 14:21 is semantically related to both the preceding and the following verse. Moreover, some scholars who see a break between 14:21 and 14:22 divide 14:22–25 into two units: 14:22–23 and 14:24–25.

Many biblical scholars, including those quoted above, base their division of Sir 14:20–27 on thematic or semantic considerations. However, also syntactic phenomena give structure to a text. It is worthwhile, therefore, to see what the result is if we follow an integrated approach, taking into account both lexical and syntactic observations.

6. *Syntactic and Thematic Structure of Sirach 14:20–27*

In the last few decades the stylistic or thematic organisation of a text has received due attention in biblical studies. Although the so-called literary approaches represent very different schools and methods, they share a common focus on the literary rather than the grammatical structure of a text, the division of texts into thematic units, stylistic means that mark literary units, and other rhetorical devices. It seems as if literary structures, having been ignored for a long period, have made an overtaking manoeuvre, and are now at the centre of interest.[32] Although the rediscovery of literary structures and devices in biblical

[29] The Hebrew text has two different words: תבונתיה (read נתיבותיה?) in 21 and מבואיה in 22.

[30] Thus R.A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 65.

[31] P.W. Skehan and A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AncBi 39; New York, 1987), 264.

[32] The appreciation of literary structures, sometimes even at the cost of syntactic observations, is also reflected in the new Dutch Bible translation (*Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling*), which in this respect differs much from its predecessors.

literature is to be welcomed, caution is needed as well. For if one gives priority to these stylistic and thematic structures of a text over its syntactic structure, or, even worse, ignores the syntactic structure of a text completely, one runs the risk or overruling linguistic information.[33] We prefer a procedure of textual analysis in which syntax and clause hierarchy have priority over, and are complemented by, literary, thematic and rhetorical observations.[34]

So let us return to our Sirach passage and see where the syntactical and clause hierarchical analysis has brought us. On the basis of the text hierarchy, we can divide the text into three parts, each beginning with the relative **ו-**. Since 14:20a (Line 1) is conceptually dependent on 14:20b (Line 2) we can assign Line 1 to the first section:

I 14:20a (Line 1) ולחוטאיו, מחכה (matrix clause of Line 2)
14:20b-c (Lines 2–3), introduced by והשחית
II 14:21–25 (Lines 4–13), introduced by ונפש
III 14:26–27 (Lines 14–17), introduced by ונותיה

If we now complement this division with the results of the semantic and thematic analysis of this passage, we can observe that the grammatical break between 14:25 and 14:26 corresponds to the change of metaphors discussed in the preceding paragraphs. 14:21, which is lexically related both to the preceding and the following verses, belongs syntactically to 14:22–25. Combining the grammatical and literary analysis, we can

[33] An interesting example concerns the concluding chapters of Sirach, the so-called Praise of the Fathers. It has been argued that on the basis of its thematic structure it can be considered a *Beispielreihe*, but a syntactic analysis denies this interpretation; see Van Peursen, *Language and Interpretation*, Part V; for other examples of the combination (or confrontation) of linguistic and literary information, see the following footnote.

[34] The interaction of linguistic analysis and literary or thematic approaches plays an important role in many studies by members of the WIVU and the CALAP project; see, e.g., E. Talstra and C.H.J. van der Merwe, 'Analysis, Retrieval and the Demand for More Data. Integrating the Results of a Formal Textlinguistic and Cognitive Based Pragmatic Approach to the Analysis of Deut 4:1–40', in J. Cook (ed.), *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference. Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique "From Alpha to Byte", University of Stellenbosch, 17–21 July 2000* (Leiden, 2002), 43–78, esp. 76; E. Talstra, 'Singers and Syntax. On the Balance of Grammar and Poetry in Psalm 8', in J. Dyk (ed.), *Give Ear to My Words. Psalms and other Poetry in and around the Hebrew Bible. Essays in Honour of Professor N.A. van Uchelen* (Amsterdam, 1996), 11–22, esp. 12, 20; H.J. Bosman, 'Two Proposals for a Structural Analysis of Lamentations 3 and 5', *Proceedings of the Third International Colloquium Bible and Computer: Interpretation, Hermeneutics, Expertise, Tübingen, 26–30 August 1991* (Paris–Genève, 1992), 77–98.

attach the following lexical-semantic labels to the three units distinguished on the basis of the grammatical structure:

14:20 The person who meditates on Wisdom.
14:21–25 First series of metaphors: Wisdom dwelling in a house.[35]
14:26–27 Second series of metaphors: Wisdom as a tree.

7. *Observations on the Hebrew Text of Sirach 14:20–27*

1	14:20	[>CRJ [>NWC <sp>]]
2	14:20	[B–XKMH <Co>] [JHGH <Pr>]
3	14:20	[W–<Cj>] [B–SKWLTNWT> <Co>] [NTHG> <Pr>]
4	14:21	[H–<Re>] [CM <PC>] [<L DRKJH <Co>] [LBW <Ob>]
5	14:21	[W–<Cj>] [B–TBWNTJH <Co>] [JTBWNN <PC>]
6	14:22	[L–Y>T <Pr>] [LXRJH <Aj>] [BXQR <Aj>]
7	14:22	[W–<Cj>] [KL MBW>JH<Co>] [JRYD <Pr>]
8	14:23	[H–<Re>] [MCQJP <PC>] [B<D XLWNH <Co>]
9	14:23	[W–<Cj>] [<L PTXJH <Co>] [JYWTT <Pr>]
10	14:24	[H–<Re>] [XWNH <PC>] [SBJBWT BJTH <Aj>]
11	14:24	[W–<Cj>] [HBJ> <Pr>] [JTRJW <Ob>] [B–QJRH <Aj>]
12	14:25	[W–<Cj>] [NWVH <PC>] [>HLW <Ob>] [<L JDH <Aj>]
13	14:25	[W–<Cj>] [CKN <Pr>] [CKN VWB <Ob>]
14	14:26	[W–] [JCJM <Pr>] [QNW <Ob>] [B–<WPJH <Aj>]
15	14:26	[W–<Cj>] [B<NPJH <Aj>] [JTLWNN <Pr>]
16	14:27	[W–<Cj>] [XWSH <PC>] [B–YLH <Aj>] [MXRB <Aj>]
17	14:27	[W–<Cj>] [B–M<NWTJH <Aj>] [JCKN <Pr>]

Table 4: Text-hierarchical analysis of Sirach 14:20–27 in Hebrew

Table 4 reflects the clause hierarchy in the Hebrew text of Sir 14:20–27 according to the Geniza manuscript A. As in the Syriac text, Line 1 marks the beginning of a new textual unit and therefore is not indented. The beatitude in Line 1 follows the 'classical usage' in that אנוש is followed by an asyndetic relative clause in Line 2. In Late Biblical Hebrew and Post-Biblical Hebrew an alternative construction with a syndetic relative clause becomes more frequent.[36] The asyndetic relative clause is an embedded element belonging to the clause in Line 1. Therefore it receives one indentation. Line 3 is a continuation of Line 2 and receives an additional indentation.

Three times we find ה- + participle (the so-called relative use of the article[37]), in Lines 4, 8, and 10. Line 4 is a relative clause to אנוש in

[35] Accordingly, Wisdom's 'paths' and 'roads' are those leading to her house; compare the 'ways of entry' in the Hebrew text.

[36] Cf. e.g. Ps 137:8–9 and see A. Hurvitz, בין לשון ללשון (*The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew*) (Jerusalem, 1972), 165–167; W.Th. van Peursen, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira* (SSLL 41; Leiden, 2004), 311.

[37] Cf. Van Peursen, *Verbal System*, 317–318.

Line 1. Line 8 and 10 are parallel to it. The three *ha-qotel* lines have one indentation. They constitute the backbone of Lines 4–17.

Except for Line 6, which contains an epexegetical infinitive,[38] all other lines open with -ו. Line 12 is related to Line 10 rather than the preceding Line 11, because it opens with *w-qotel*, continuing the *ha-qotel* in Line 10. Line 16, also containing *w-qotel* is parallel to Line 12. In lines 11 and 13, the -ו is part of the perfect consecutive.

8. *Comparison of the Syriac and the Hebrew Text*

The lexical and text-critical comparison of the Syriac and the Hebrew text receives due attention in the literature. This concerns the following observations.[39] In Line 5 ܒܢܝܘܬܝܗ reflects בנתיבותיה instead of A בתבונתיה. In Line 6 ܟܚܩܪ reflects כחקר (= LXX) instead of A בחקר. In Line 7 the Syriac has ܠܥ (= על) where A has כל. The Syriac translator omits Line 12 of the Hebrew text. In Line 14 ,ܬܐܪ is either an inner-Syriac corruption of ,ܬܠܕ (= LXX) or the result of the corruption of ילדיה to ידיה in a Hebrew text, or a dislocated remnant of Line 12, if 'children' is regarded as a free rendering of A's קנו. In Line 14 ܫܟܚ seems to be a misinterpretation of A's עופיה. According to Smend, the Syriac translator thought of Syriac ܐܦܚ 'branches', while the Hebrew עוף means 'foliage' (cf. Dan 4:9, 11, 18).

Syntactically the basic structure of the passage is the same in the Hebrew and the Syriac (see Table 5): An initial ,ܐܫܪܝ / אשרי in Line 1 governs the rest of the passage which consists of relative and parallel clauses. In this respect the Hebrew and the Syriac both disagree with the Greek translation, which introduces imperatives in 14:22.[40] In Line 2 the Hebrew text has an asyndetic relative clause, while the Syriac has a relative clause with **ג-**. This phenomenon is well-attested in the Peshitta. Asyndetic relative clauses are rare in Syriac.

In the following lines the Hebrew text has relative clauses introduced by ה- + participle and parallel clauses beginning with -ו. The Syriac text has either **ג-** + relative clause or **ס-** + parallel clause. However, the distribution of the constructions in the Hebrew and the Syriac does not

[38] Cf. Van Peursen, *Verbal System*, 265–266.

[39] Peters, *Jesus Sirach*, 126–127; Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen*, 74–77; Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 105–106; R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt* (Berlin, 1906), 137–139; I. Lévi, *L'Ecclésiastique ou la Sagesse de Jésus, fils de Sira* 2 (Paris, 1901), 106–107; M.H. Segal, ספר בן סירא השלם (*The Complete Book of Ben Sira*) (2nd ed.; Jerusalem, 1958), 63–64.

[40] Cf. Puech, '5Q525', 94 n. 22: 'Le grec, avec les futurs ou impératives n'a pas tenu compte de ces structures de la composition sémitique'.

1	14:20	[>CRJ [>NWC <sp>]]	[VWBWHJ [L–GBR> <sp>]]
2	14:20	| | [B–XKMH <Co>] [JHGH <Pr>]	| [D–<Re>] [B–XKMT> <Co>] [NHW> <Pr>] [RN> <PC>]
3	14:20	| | | [W–<Cj>] [B–SKWLTNWT> <Co>] [NTHG> <Pr>]	| | [W–<Cj>] [B–SKWLTNWT> <Co>] [NTHG> <Pr>]
4	14:21	| [H–<Re>] [CM <PC>] [<L DRKJH <Co>] [LBW <Ob>]	| [D–<Re>] [NPN> <Pr>] [<L >WRXTH <Co>] [LBH <Ob>]
5	14:21	| | [W–<Cj>] [B–TBWNTJH <Co>] [JTBWNN <PC>]	| | [W–<Cj>] [B–CBJLJH <Co>] [NSTKL <PC>]
6	14:22	| | | [L–Y>T <Pr>] [LXRJH <Aj>] [BXQR <Aj>]	| | | [W–<Cj>] [L–MPQ <Pr>] [BTRH <Aj>] [>JK M<QBN> <Aj>]
7	14:22	| | [W–<Cj>] [KL MBW>JH<Co>] [JRYD u<Pr>]	| | [W–<Cj>] [<L CBJLJH <Co>] [NHW> <Pr>] [KMJN <PC>]
8	14:23	| [H–<Re>] [MCQJP <PC>] [B<D XLWNH <Co>]	| | [W–<Cj>] [NDJQ <Pr>] [<LJH <Co>] [MN KWJN <Aj>]
9	14:23	| | [W–<Cj>] [<L PTXJH <Co>] [JYWTT <Pr>]	| | [W–<Cj>] [<L TR<JH <Co>] [NHW> <Pr>] [Y>T <PC>]
10	14:24	| [H–<Re>] [XWNH <PC>] [SBJBWT BJTH <Aj>]	| | [W–<Cj>] [NCR> <Pr>] [XDRJ BJTH <Aj>]
11	14:24	| | | [W–<Cj>] [HBJ> <Pr>] [JTRJW <Ob>] [B–QJRH <Aj>]	| | [W–<Cj>] [B–>SJH <Aj>] [NQWC <Pr>] [SKWHJ <Ob>]
12	14:25	| [W–<Cj>] [NWVH <PC>] [LHLW <Ob>] [<L JDH <Aj>]	
13	14:25	| | | [W–<Cj>] [CKN <Pr>] [CKN VWB <Ob>]	| | [W–<Cj>] [NCR> <Pr>] [B–MCRJ> VB> <Aj>]
14	14:26	| | | [W–] [JCJM <Pr>] [QNW <Ob>] [B–<WPJH <Aj>]	| [D–<Re>] [NRM> <Pr>] [>JDWHJ <Ob>] [<L SWKJH <Aj>]
15	14:26	| | | [W–<Cj>] [B<NPJH <Aj>] [JTLWNN <Pr>]	| | [W–<Cj>] [BJNT SR<PJTH <Aj>] [NHW> <Pr>] [<MR <PC>]
16	14:27	| | [W–<Cj>] [XWSH <PC>] [B–YLH <Aj>] [MXRB <Aj>]	| | [W–<Cj>] [NTB <Pr>] [B–VLLH <Aj>] [MN CWB> <Aj>]
17	14:27	| | | [W–<Cj>] [B–M<NWTJH <Aj>] [JCKN <Pr>]	| | [W–<Cj>] [B–MDJRJH <Aj>] [NHW> <Pr>] [MVJL <PC>]

Table 5: Comparison of the Hebrew and Syriac Text of Sir 14:20–27

correspond in each line. Thus we do not always find a parallel clause in Syriac where it occurs in the Hebrew. In the Hebrew text we find after the asyndetic relative clause in 14:20b three sections beginning with -ה + participle in 14:21–22, 14:23 and 14:24–27. In the third section we can make a subdivision because of the use of *w-qotel* in 14:25a and 14:27a. In Syriac the clauses with **-ܕ** constitute a different division of the text into three parts: 14:20b-c, 14:21–25, 14:26–27. When we compare the grammatical division of this passage in the Hebrew and Syriac texts with our remarks above on the lexical-semantic analysis, we can observe that in the Syriac text there is a closer correspondence between the lexical-semantic structure and the grammatical structure than in the Hebrew text. As to the cohesion of the whole passage, it appears that the way in which the coherence of this passage is marked syntactically is stronger in the Syriac text because of the repetition of imperfects corresponding to various verb forms in the Hebrew (imperfect, 'copulative imperfect', participle, consecutive perfect).

9. *Conclusion*

In the present paper we have seen an example how the linguistic analysis of discourse segmentation and clause hierarchy can contribute to the textual analysis of the Peshitta. In the first place our analysis illustrates that in the analysis of the discourse structure of a certain passage a so-called literary analysis should complement, but never overrule, the data gained from a systematic linguistic analysis. The literary, semantic or thematic analysis of Sir 14:20–27 has given rise to multiple proposals about the textual segmentation of this passage without firm criteria for deciding which division is preferable. The clause hierarchical analysis, however, leads to an unequivocal division of this section into three units. A complementary literary analysis provides thematic-semantic labels to these units. In this way it is also possible to address issues that could not be solved in a purely semantic or thematic analysis, like the question of how the set of metaphors in 14:21 should be interpreted.

In the second place we have seen how two parallel passages, in this case the Hebrew and Syriac text of Sir 14:20–27, may at first sight reflect more or less the same structure, whereas at a closer look the hierarchical relationships between clauses are much different. In other words, what seems to be a small difference, may effect the structure and interpretation of a whole passage. This shows once again that a complete independent analysis of each ancient version is needed before a comparison can be made.

THE PESHITTA OF ISAIAH: EVIDENCE FROM THE SYRIAC FATHERS

*Bas ter Haar Romeny**

One of the most conspicuous differences between the Leiden Peshitta edition and major editions of other versions is that the apparatus of the former quotes only biblical manuscripts. The Göttingen edition of the Septuagint, for example, refers also to readings culled from the Greek Fathers. The absence from the Peshitta edition of quotations of the Syriac Fathers is even more striking if one considers the fact that the witness of the Fathers played an important role in discussions on the origins of the Peshitta in the scholarly literature of the period before the publication of the first volumes.

The editorial choice not to include the Syriac Fathers was not an oversight, but a decision based on the fact that exegetical literature is a field of study in its own right, where in many cases even the most basic editing work had not yet been done. At the start of the project, however, it was noted that a much better knowledge of the Old Testament texts preserved in the patristic literature of the Syriac Churches was a prerequisite for obtaining a full picture of the textual history, if only because the manuscripts we have are very few in number and not necessarily representative.[1] Several years ago now, it was the honorand of this volume, Dr Konrad Jenner, who stressed that the moment had come to fill this gap. As much progress had been made on the Syriac Fathers in the intervening years, he argued that it was time to see where we stood: what had been done thus far in that respect, what still needed to be done, and how could one integrate the results of

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[1] See, for example, the General Preface of *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version. Sample edition: Song of Songs – Tobit – 4 Ezra* (Leiden, 1966), vi, and cf. P.A.H. de Boer, 'Towards an Edition of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament' (PIC 16), *VT* 31 (1981), 346–357, esp. 355. A different opinion was voiced by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Peshitta', in his *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran* (Jerusalem, 1960), 163–204, esp. 198–199; reprinted in Ch. Rabin, *Studies in the Bible* (Scripta Hierosolymitana 8; Jerusalem, 1961), 26–67, esp. 61–62.

this research into the picture that had been formed on the basis of the study of Bible manuscripts?[2]

The research I carried out at the Peshitta Institute from 1998 to 2001 was meant to contribute to answering these questions. On the basis of a study of the quotations from Genesis, Psalms, and Isaiah in Syriac exegetical literature, and the position and use of these quotations in the exegetical method, the agenda was established for what was to become Section VI of the Leiden Peshitta Edition: an edition and study of the quotations of the Syriac Fathers. By way of a sample, I would like to discuss here some of the results for the book of Isaiah.

1. *The Necessity of Exploring the Fathers*

Before looking at Isaiah, however, I should like to go back one step. Let us first answer the question of why the biblical text of the Fathers is so important. The answer consists of several points.

First of all, there is a quantitative aspect. The number of Peshitta manuscripts from the period before the twelfth century is very low. There are only four manuscripts that were conceived as complete Bibles. There are, of course, more manuscripts containing a group of books or only a single book, but one glance at a page of the Isaiah edition or, for that matter, a page in any of the other volumes, makes it clear that there are often not more than ten or twelve witnesses to support the text. Now quantity as such is not necessarily important. If one has the autograph of a text, a single manuscript is enough. The problem is that we do not know whether the manuscripts that have come down to us represent the full breadth of the tradition. Our corpus of manuscripts is very much determined by what the late David Lane called 'chance and personality' (that is, the ideas, interests, and circumstances of those who kept and those who collected manuscripts).[3] Not only is the corpus merely a small sample of the biblical manuscripts once current in the Middle East; its contents are also accidental, and not necessarily representative. Therefore we are not in a position to discard any evidence on the basis of the fact that it is hard to obtain.

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[2] Cf. K.D. Jenner, W.Th. van Peursen, and E. Talstra, 'CALAP: An Interdisciplinary Debate between Textual Criticism, Textual History and Computer-Assisted Linguistic Analysis', in P.S.F. van Keulen and W.Th. van Peursen, *Corpus Linguistics and Textual History: A Computer-Assisted Interdisciplinary Approach to the Peshitta* (SSN 48; Assen, 2006), 13–44, esp. 36–39.

[3] D.J. Lane, 'Text, Scholar, and Church: The Place of the Leiden Peshiṭta within the Context of Scholastically and Ecclesiastically Definitive Versions', *JSSt* 38 (1993), 33–47, esp. 39.

A second argument is the fact that the oldest extant Bible manuscripts were written three centuries after the Peshitta was made. The age of a manuscript is of course only a *terminus ad quem*, but we should be happy with any witness that helps us to go back further. For this reason, much attention has already been paid to Ephrem, Aphrahat, and the Greek readings attributed to ὁ Σύρος, the Syrian. These witnesses are in fact our only certain source for the fourth century. This brings me to the third and final argument: the quotations of a Father can help us to place a certain text form in its chronological and geographical context. This is not only important for the earlier period; it can also corroborate or correct our picture of later developments.

The importance of a well-informed and systematic inquiry into the Syriac Fathers may be illustrated by the fate of Vööbus' hypothesis of a *Vetus Syra* of the Old Testament. He posited the existence of an older, 'wild' Syriac version, closer to the supposed Targumic origins of the Syriac Bible.[4] Patristic citations played a very important role in his argument. He selected only those quotations that supported his ideas, however, without looking at the manuscript tradition, the context of the commentary, or the way an author quotes his Bible, and without obtaining a more complete picture of the biblical text used. More recent studies into the biblical manuscripts and into the quotations of the Fathers have not confirmed his ideas.[5]

2. *Isaiah in the Early Fathers*

In order to find out how a book such as Isaiah was quoted over the centuries, we have first to make an inventory of the material, to find out what still has to be done to access this material and, if possible, to actually study the way Scripture is quoted in these texts and to collate the readings with the text of the edition.

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[4] A. Vööbus, *Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs: neues Licht zur Frage der Herkunft der Peschitta aus dem altpalästinischen Targum* (PETSE 9; Stockholm, 1958).

[5] See, among others, M.D. Koster, *The Peshiṭta of Exodus: The Development of Its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries* (SSN 19; Assen–Amsterdam, 1977), 198–212; idem, 'The Copernican Revolution in the Study of the Origins of the Peshitta', in P.V.M. Flesher (ed.), *Targum Studies* 2. *Targum and Peshitta* (SFSHJ 165; Atlanta, GA, 1998), 15–45, esp. 23–30; M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56; Cambridge, 1999), 105–106, 129–149; and R.B. ter Haar Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress: The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 6; Leuven, 1997), 80–81.

For the earliest period, a number of studies are already available. Aphrahat's text of Genesis and Exodus has been studied by Owens,[6] Ephrem's Genesis quotations by Janson,[7] and there are studies on the Greek readings attributed to ὁ Σύρος by Guinot[8] and by me.[9] With the exception of those of Guinot, these studies concentrate on the Pentateuch, but there are some studies on Isaiah, too. The readings of Aphrahat and those attributed to Ephrem have even been collated twice, by Diettrich at the beginning of the last century[10] and by Running in the 1960s.[11] Running's method and conclusions were, however, severely criticized by Van der Kooij in his 1981 study of the ancient witnesses of the text of Isaiah, as she moulded the evidence to fit Vööbus' theory of an older, 'wild' Syriac version, closer to supposed Targumic origins of the Syriac Bible.[12] I propose to have a look at the three earliest sources again now. We shall see that the text attributed to Ephrem will naturally lead us to the later period.

As to the Greek Σύρος readings, I have found only three instances in Isaiah. Eusebius of Emesa, our main source for the Pentateuch, did not write a commentary on Isaiah, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, who has a large number of readings for Ezekiel, has only two readings here.[13] The third reading comes from John Chrysostom. Chrysostom

[6] R.J. Owens, Jr., *The Genesis and Exodus Citations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage* (MPIL 3; Leiden, 1983).

[7] A.G.P. Janson, *De Abrahamcyclus in de Genesiscommentaar van Efrem de Syriër* (doctoral dissertation Leiden; Zoetermeer, 1998). See also R.B. ter Haar Romeny, 'Techniques of Translation and Transmission in the Earliest Text Forms of the Syriac Version of Genesis', in P.B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij (eds.), *The Peshitta as a Translation: Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19-21 August 1993* (MPIL 8; Leiden, 1995), 177–185, esp. 183.

[8] J.-N. Guinot, 'Qui est "le Syrien" dans les commentaires de Théodoret de Cyr?', in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica* 25. *Papers Presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1991* (Leuven, 1993), 60–71, and idem, *L'exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr* (Théologie historique 100; Paris, 1995), 186–190.

[9] Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress.*

[10] G. Diettrich, *Ein Apparatus criticus zur Pešitto zum Propheten Jesaia* (BZAW 8; Gießen, 1905).

[11] L.G. Running, 'An investigation of the Syriac Version of Isaiah' 1–3, *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 3 (1965), 138–157; 4 (1966), 37–64; 135–148. This study is based on her dissertation (with the same title), submitted to the Johns Hopkins University in 1964.

[12] A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Freiburg–Göttingen, 1981), 259–270. Cf. also Koster, 'The Copernican Revolution', 16–21.

[13] Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Isaiam* 7.116 (ad Isa 23:13) and 9.268 (ad Isa 30:33), ed. J.-N. Guinot, *Théodoret de Cyr: Commentaire sur Isaïe* 2 (SC 295; Paris, 1982), 178, 286.

did not know Syriac but, as he indicates here, took his information from others. He comments that the Hebrew and the Syriac say σφῆκας 'wasps' instead of μελίσσας 'bees' in Isa 7:18.[14] This seems to be a question of interpretation. The word used in the MT (דבורה) and the Peshitta (ܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ) refers to 'hornets' or 'bees'. Theodoret's two readings largely follow the Peshitta text as edited, but his ἀπ᾽ ἐχθές 'since yesterday' in Isa 30:33 may well be taken to support the reading ܡܢ ܡܛܠ ܝܘܡ in the oldest dated biblical manuscript, the London palimpsest 5ph1 from 459/460, which is, in my opinion, the original reading of the Peshitta. It is a rather literal rendering of the Hebrew מאתמול. The other manuscripts have ܡܢ ܡܛܠ ܝܘܡ ‘for days now, for some time', which fits the context better. Their interpretation is comparable to the Septuagint's πρὸ ἡμερῶν, and might even have been influenced by this version.

Aphrahat is a very difficult witness. Owens was forced to conclude that 'while Aphrahat's citations of Genesis and Exodus are not worthless, great caution must be exercised in using them, because Aphrahat often seems to quote inexactly'.[15] He says that most divergences from the Peshitta appear to result from casualness, intentional paraphrase, or error on Aphrahat's part. It is often hard to believe that he took his quotations from a written text and not from memory. The majority of the Genesis and Exodus quotations that appear to be literal agree with most or all of the Peshitta manuscripts; there are a number of variants, but these do not fall into a clear pattern and certainly do not warrant the assumption of a *Vetus Syra*. The collations made by Diettrich do not suggest any different conclusions for Isaiah.[16] In order to draw conclusions in individual cases, the work of collating should be done again, however. Running writes that Diettrich's 'work is not without some errors'.[17] She is right, but Sebastian Brock found that her own collations (of biblical manuscripts) were frequently incorrect or unreliable as well.[18]

For Genesis and Exodus, Ephrem's commentary is much more interesting, if only because it suggests that Aphrahat's haphazard way

[14] John Chrysostom, *In Isaiam* 7.8 (ad 7:18), *PG* 56, 88 ll. 9–10.

[15] Owens, *The Genesis and Exodus Citations*, xii.

[16] Cf. Van der Kooij's discussion of the Aphrahat readings: *Die alten Textzeugen*, 270–273. Diettrich worked on the basis of Wright's edition: W. Wright, *The Homilies of Aphraates, the Persian Sage* (London, 1869).

[17] Running, 'An Investigation' 1, 144, n. 3. Her full collations can be found in her dissertation, 11–134 (variants shared by biblical MSS), 228–241 (additional variants). She based herself on Parisot's edition: I. Parisot (ed.), *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes* (PS 1.1–2; Paris, 1894–1907).

[18] S.P. Brock (ed.), *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version* 3.1. *Isaiah* (Leiden, 1987), xxxviii n. 11.

of quoting was the exception. Ephrem fitted the quotations into the context of his commentary and sometimes chose to write better Syriac, but he did not quote from memory. Goshen-Gottstein's warning that 'it cannot be said that any of the early commentaries, etc., consistently quotes the Peshitta text verbatim from written copies'[19] is only valid for Ephrem and for most of the commentaries of the succeeding centuries if one stresses the word 'consistently'. Ephrem also plays an important role in Diettrich and Running's respective studies on Isaiah. The former noted many points of agreement between Ephrem's text and the Hebrew; the latter noted several unique agreements with the Targum, which she interpreted as pointing to a *Vetus Syra*. The basis for both studies was the commentary attributed to Ephrem in the Roman edition.[20] It is important to discuss this text in full.

3. *Severus' Commentary Attributed to Ephrem*

Peter Mubarrak, or Petrus Benedictus in Latin, the editor of this part of the Roman edition of Ephrem's works, took the text of the Isaiah commentary from the manuscript Vat. Syr. 103.[21] This manuscript contains what is commonly called the *Catena Severi*, the *catena* of the monk Severus from the Monastery of St Barbara near Edessa. Severus' work is not a *catena* in strict sense, but could be termed a selective commentary or, as he himself says at the beginning of the text, 'a commentary on difficult words of the Old Testament'.[22] He also states that he based this part on Ephrem and Jacob of Edessa; in the section on the New Testament he relied on John Chrysostom. The work was completed in the year 1172 of the Greeks, that is, 861.

The main text of Vat Syr. 103 contains a number of long insertions. The first one, as Dirk Kruisheer has demonstrated, is the complete *Commentary on the Octateuch* of Jacob of Edessa.[23] After the insertion of this work, Kruisheer explains, though the heading of the manuscript as a whole still referred to Ephrem and Jacob, the headings of the following

[19] Goshen-Gottstein, 'Prolegomena', 197 (reprint, 60).

[20] P. Benedictus (ed.), *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia quae exstant* 1–2 (Rome, 1737–40).

[21] Cf. S.E. and J.S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus* 1.3 (Rome, 1759; repr. Paris, 1926), 7–28, with an important correction in T. Jansma, 'The Provenance of the Last Sections in the Roman Edition of Ephraem's Commentary on Exodus', *Muséon* 85 (1972), 155–167, especially 160.

[22] Assemani and Assemani, *Catalogus* 1.3, 7.

[23] D. Kruisheer, 'Ephrem, Jacob of Edessa, and the Monk Severus: An Analysis of Ms. Vat. Syr. 103, ff. 1–72', in René Lavenant (ed.), *Symposium Syriacum VII* (OCA 256; Rome, 1998), 599–605.

individual sections mentioned only Jacob. The logical conclusion was to attribute the remaining sections—the work of Severus—to Ephrem. For the book of Isaiah, I also found an insertion: after Severus' commentary, attributed in the manuscript to Ephrem, part of a Syriac version of Cyril's *Commentary on Isaiah* was copied. In addition to these extensive insertions, several shorter comments, often with a clear attribution to an author and a certain work, have been added in the margins. According to his own testimony, the person who added this material is the copyist of the volume, the monk Simeon of Ḥisn Manṣur, who worked in the Monastery of the Seven Martyrs near the town of Perrhe. In the colophon he states: 'I, Simeon, added because of my carefulness all the comments which are placed in the margin of the book.'[24]

The comments added by Simeon do, admittedly, add to the impression of a *catena*. It is better, however, to describe the work as an exegetical collection—the *Collection of Simeon*—consisting of what we should term the *Commentary of the Monk Severus*, some longer additions, and the shorter comments, the latter mostly indeed written in the margins. The marginal comments were collected by Simeon himself from authors such as Severus of Antioch, Cyril of Alexandria, and Daniel of Ṣalaḥ.

Diettrich and Running based their studies of the biblical text of what they still considered Ephrem's commentary on the edition of Mubarrak.[25] When it came to the book of Isaiah, however, there was a problem. There the commentary jumps from Isa 43:8 to 65:20. For this section they had to use the edition of the missing parts produced in 1886 by Lamy on the basis of a London manuscript, BL Add. 12144, which is a direct copy from the Vaticanus.[26] When I studied the Vatican manuscript myself, I discovered that it does contain the passage in question. Mubarrak overlooked it because it is not in the right place. I found that the four inner sheets of two quires—each quire consists of five sheets—had been exchanged. In the London manuscript the sections are in the original place, which is easy to explain by assuming that the transposition in the Vaticanus had not yet taken place when it was used as the model.[27] All this means that we should now use Vat. Syr. 103 for this passage instead of Lamy's edition.

[24] The Syriac text found on f. 371r (rather than 370) of the MS can be found in Assemani and Assemani, *Catalogus* 1.3, 26, ll. 7–8 (note that these lines do not appear in their Latin translation).

[25] For a full discussion of the textual tradition of the work, see R.B. ter Haar Romeny and D. Kruisheer, 'The Tradition of the So-Called Catena Severi, Partly Attributed to Ephrem the Syrian', to be submitted to *Le Muséon*.

[26] T.J. Lamy, *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et sermones* 2 (Mechelen, 1886), 103–201.

[27] After Mubarrak, the Assemani brothers also overlooked the transposition when they wrote their catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts of the Vatican: they list Simeon's

There are more problems, however. The commentary on the section from Isa 65:20 to the end of the book, Isa 66:24, has been re-edited by Lamy, and he notes a number of differences between the Vaticanus and its copy, the Londinensis.[28] On the basis of a comparison of microfilms of the two manuscripts and the two editions, I concluded that some of these could be explained by a certain carelessness on the part of Lamy; many others, however, had to do with the fact that Mubarrak was in a sense too careful. Wherever the latter found the text not good or clear enough, he suppressed or replaced words, changed their order, or even added 'a few words on his own authority'.[29] In one instance where the Londinensis really differs from the Vaticanus, the copyist seems to have corrected what appears to be a dittography in the earlier manuscript; Mubarrak has a different, longer text, as he solved the same problem in a different way: by rewriting the passage. His style of editing has also, and particularly, affected the biblical text.[30] We have to conclude, therefore, that Mubarrak's edition is no more useful to us than that of Lamy. We should gather our information directly from the Vatican manuscript.

4. *The Nature of Severus' Biblical Text*

For our inquiries into the biblical text, the *Commentary of the Monk Severus* is a very important text indeed. First, it appears that the commentary quotes about 35% of the text of Isaiah (which is a very high percentage for a commentary), and most of these quotations are literal rather than paraphrasing. Second, the quotations contain a number of interesting variants, most of which are also found in a certain group of other manuscripts. Third, the biblical text can be situated in time and space: it was a text present in Edessa, in the hands of a West Syrian exegete, in the decade leading up to 861.

The chronological situation of the text in the ninth century may come as a surprise. Diettrich and Running, after all, considered the

marginal notes in the order in which they are now found in the Vaticanus, without noticing the changes in the main text.

[28] Lamy, *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et sermones* 2, 201–214.

[29] This is Jansma's description of the sentences in the edition of the last part of the Exodus commentary which cannot be traced back to any source known to us: Jansma, 'The Provenance', 165. A description of the differences between Vat. Syr. 103 and 110 on the one hand and Mubarrak's edition on the other is found in A. Pohlmann, *Sancti Ephraemi Syri Commentariorum in Sacram Scripturam textus in codicibus Vaticanis manuscriptus et in editione Romana impressus* (Braunsberg, [1862]–64), 50–54, 61–67. This work, not known to Jansma, anticipated most of his conclusions.

[30] Cf. also Pohlmann, *Sancti Ephraemi textus*, 52 (on Vat. Syr. 110).

commentary important because of its attribution to Ephrem. In my opinion, however, the text should not be considered a witness to the fourth century text of the Bible, but rather that of the ninth, as Van der Kooij already argued in his discussion of Running's work.[31] What was stated above about the origin of the attribution supports this. Yet in a number of recent publications, the idea that there is at least some Ephrem material in the commentary has been revived,[32] and the variants in the biblical text of the commentary have even been used as an argument for this.[33] The question of the attribution is thus posed in a new way.

How do we know whether there is any Ephrem in Severus' commentary? One possibility is proposed by David Bundy.[34] He has been working on a study of the relationship between Severus' Isaiah commentary and the authentic Ephrem corpus, in which Isaiah is often quoted. This is certainly an interesting exercise, but it will not be possible to establish on the basis of this comparison that Ephrem wrote a commentary on Isaiah, and that a given parallel to the authentic Ephrem in Severus' commentary was taken from this work: these parallels may have reached Severus directly or through other authors from the very sources which Bundy is using. It is possible that the commentary does indeed consist of quotations from Jacob and Ephrem, but it is impossible to find confirmation for this: only in the case of Genesis and Exodus do we have the authentic Ephrem in Vat. Syr. 110, and the authentic Jacob elsewhere in Vat. Syr. 103. The only thing we can do, in my opinion, is to establish Severus' approach in compiling his commentary on the basis of those parts of the work for which we do have the main sources. On this basis we can at least determine how much of the biblical text was quoted by Severus directly, and how much derives from his exegetical sources—whoever they are.

A preliminary investigation into the Exodus commentary provides the following picture of Severus' approach. Severus followed the biblical text closely. He added a relevant scriptural quotation as a lemma to all the comments he adopted from his sources, and which were usually rather short. The general rule is that this lemma is a precise, literal quotation of the Peshitta, which must have been taken from a copy Severus had at hand, as the biblical text is often not quoted in his

[31] Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen*, 269.

[32] D.D. Bundy, 'The Peshitta of Isaiah 53:9 and the Syrian Commentators', *OrChr* 67 (1983), 32–45, esp. 33; idem, 'Ephrem's Exegesis of Isaiah', in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica* 18.4 (Kalamazoo–Leuven, 1990), 234–239, esp. 235–236; and the work mentioned in the next footnote.

[33] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version*, 290.

[34] Bundy, 'Ephrem's Exegesis of Isaiah', 236.

sources, or not quoted in full. There are a small number of cases where Jacob or Ephrem has a full quotation, but even here Severus' reading is not always identical to that in the source. For Exodus, I should say that only a small number of readings can be explained from influence of the intermediary source. While individual variants may go back to the source, a pattern of variants can only be explained by the Peshitta manuscript Severus was using. We have to work with the hypothesis that the situation for Isaiah was comparable. We are not sure about Severus' sources here, but I assume that he handled the biblical text in the same way. Thus even if Ephrem was one of his sources, there still is not much of Ephrem's Bible in the commentary.

A nice example of Severus' method can be seen in one of the few texts in which the comment gives certainty about a reading. I refer to Isa 10:27, where most Peshitta manuscripts, as well as Severus' lemma, have 'and the yoke shall be destroyed from before the heifers', with ܥܓܠܬܐ as 'heifers'. The original author of the comment, however, knew a reading ܡܫܚܐ, 'oil', as is made clear from his explanation: 'The Assyrian shall be destroyed from before Hezekiah, who was anointed,' ܕܡܫܝܚ ܗܘܐ ܚܙܩܝܐ. The reading ܡܫܚܐ renders the Hebrew שמן, and must have been the original reading of the Peshitta, but it was not found in Severus' Bible.[35] This is, incidentally, just one of the instances in which it proved crucial to use the Vatican manuscript rather than Mubarrak's edition. Mubarrak reconstructed the reading ܡܫܚܐ here in the lemma.

Now that his method of quoting has been discussed, we can move on to the question of how we should describe Severus' Bible. Full collations have already been made for the first ten chapters. Of the unique points of agreement between Severus and the Hebrew which Diettrich found, not many remain: most of these go back to Mubarrak. In a great many cases, it emerges that Mubarrak changed readings, making them longer or shorter, and adapting details such as place names to the Hebrew text (or even the Vulgate).[36] Where there is a genuine unique agreement (in two cases), it is within the text of the comment, not in the lemma. These are the kind of readings that may go back to Severus' sources. Apart from quite a number of other unique readings, mostly clarifications and

[35] Cf. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version*, 290.

[36] Eight of the fourteen instances in which Diettrich's collations in this chapter of Isaiah had to be corrected go back to Mubarrak's interventions. A number of other corrections have to do with the fact that Diettrich was not consistent in noting down positive evidence: instances where Severus supports the majority of early manuscripts against a small number of others. As we have seen, Running also worked on the basis of Mubarrak's edition, and her collations are no more reliable than those of Diettrich.

simplifications, we find variants that are shared by one or more of the manuscripts 9a1, 6h3, 6h5, the West Syrian lectionaries 9l2, 9l6, and the Melkite 9l5. The points of agreement with 9a1 are most frequent and also most conspicuous, as this manuscript contains a large number of readings not found in any other biblical manuscript. Many of these lie closer to the Hebrew text and may represent the original translation, as Diettrich already noted.[37] Weitzman and others conclude that in these respects the manuscript, though written only in the ninth century, resembles 5b1.[38] Thus Severus' text does offer readings that are closer to the Hebrew; however, these are not unique variants but shared by 9a1 or one or two other witnesses.

The problem of 9a1 is that it is not clear where it was written. The Serto hand indicates that it was western, but the unique readings have given rise to the suggestion that it came from an isolated community.[39] This is, I think, no longer necessary in light of what we find in the commentary of Severus. Eight of the twenty-two 9a1 variants are supported by Severus: too many to be explained from his intermediary sources. It is also important to note that there are no agreements between Severus' readings and the distinctive readings of the medieval standard text or *Textus Receptus*, which dominates the manuscripts from the ninth century onwards. The text of Severus further confirms that in the West, a certain extent of variation was possible as late as the ninth century, and that the later standard had not yet influenced the full tradition.[40] Under these circumstances some older readings could survive, as is also indicated by the agreement between Severus and 6h3 and 6h5.

5. *Contemporary East Syrian Commentaries*

What is the situation in the East in the eighth and ninth centuries? It is much easier to study most of the East Syrian exegetes than their West

[37] Diettrich, *Ein Apparatus criticus*, xxx–xxxii.

[38] M.P. Weitzman, 'The Originality of Unique Readings in Peshiṭta MS 9a1', in P.B. Dirksen and M.J. Mulder (eds.), *The Peshiṭta: Its Early Text and History. Papers read at the Peshiṭta Symposium held at Leiden 30-31 August 1985* (MPIL 4; Leiden, 1988), 225–258 (reprinted in Weitzman, *From Judaism to Christianity: Studies in the Hebrew and Syriac Bibles* [JSSt.S 8; Oxford, 1999], 325–346). Weitzman recognized that the number of unique agreements with the Hebrew in 9a1 is much higher in Kings and Jeremiah than in other books. At the same conference, Brock did indeed note the 'very mixed character' of 9a1 in Isaiah (S.P. Brock, 'Text History and Text Division in Peshiṭta Isaiah', *ibidem*, 49–80, esp. 52.). See also A. van der Kooij, 'Ms 9a1 of the Peshitta of Isaiah: Some Comments', in the present volume, 71–76.

[39] Posited as a possibility by Weitzman, 'The Originality of Unique Readings', 245–246 (reprint, 336); cf., on 5b1, Koster, *The Peshitta of Exodus*, 186.

[40] Cf. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version*, 303.

Syrian contemporaries, as we have reliable editions of their works at our disposal.[41] Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*,[42] completed in 792, Isho'dad's *Commentary on Isaiah*,[43] around 850, and Isho' bar Nun's *Questions and Answers*,[44] between the former two, have all been edited for Isaiah. The most interesting question here is the position of these authors with regard to the medieval standard text (ST) or *Textus Receptus* (TR). It is well known that Timothy I, who was Patriarch-Catholicos from 780 to 823, took a lively interest in the biblical text.[45] He introduced the Syro-Hexapla, translated by the West Syrian bishop Paul of Tella, to the East Syrian Church. It is very possible that he actively supported the spread of the standard text as well, as Konrad Jenner has suggested.[46] Now Isho'dad was clearly working on the basis of Timothy's achievements, as he also quoted the Syro-Hexapla; but this cannot be said of Theodore bar Koni and Isho' bar Nun. So what is their position with regard to the standard text?

On Isho' bar Nun I can be very brief, unfortunately. He has only four questions and answers on Isaiah, which contain five literal quotations. These do not contain distinctive readings of the standard text. We can say only that Isho' bar Nun supports the majority of manuscripts against two variants of 9a1 and one of 6h3. More can be said about Theodore bar Koni, who gives 105 Isaiah readings. This number sounds promising, but many of the readings are very short, as they form part of

[41] On these commentaries, see L. Van Rompay, 'Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages', in M. Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation* 1. *From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300)* 2. *The Middle Ages* (Göttingen, 2000), 559–577, esp. 564–573.

[42] Edition (of the recension of Seert): A. Scher (ed.), *Theodorus bar Kōnī: Liber scholiorum*, 1–2 (CSCO 55, 69, Syr 19, 26; Paris 1910–12). Translation: R. Hespel and R. Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni: Livre des scolies (recension de Séert)* (CSCO 431–432, Syr 187–188; Leuven 1981–82). On the work and its title, cf. S.H. Griffith, 'Theodore bar Kônî's *Scholion*: a Nestorian *Summa contra gentiles* from the First Abbasid Century', in N.G. Garsoïan, Th.F. Mathews, and R.W. Thomson (eds.), *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Washington, DC, 1982), 53–72.

[43] C. Van den Eynde (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament* 4. *Isaïe et les Douze* (CSCO 303–304, Syr 128–129; Leuven, 1969).

[44] D.D. Bundy (ed.), 'The "Questions and Answers" on Isaiah by Išo' bar Nūn', *OLP* 16 (1985), 167–178.

[45] R.B. ter Haar Romeny, 'Biblical Studies in the Church of the East: The Case of Catholicos Timothy I', in M.F. Wiles and E.J. Yarnold (eds.), *Studia Patristica* 34. *Papers Presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999* (Leuven, 2001), 503–510.

[46] K.D. Jenner, 'Some Introductory Remarks Concerning the Study of 8a1', in Dirksen and Mulder, *The Peshiṭta: Its Early Text and History*, 200–224, esp. 209–216.

a list of difficult words in Isaiah. In quantity, there is no comparison to Severus. Still, it is remarkable that most of Theodore's longer readings are literal, as the *Scholion* is not a running commentary, but rather a kind of encyclopaedia. Therefore it is indeed possible to say more than we could say about Ishoʿ bar Nun. Theodore never supports the unique readings of 9a1 or the earlier manuscripts; he does support the standard text wherever there are variant readings. One of his readings is even found only in the standard text. Thus this text must have been available already at the end of the eighth century.

The origin of the standard text has been a matter of debate. Gelston suggested that this text form was actually older than the divisions of the fifth century.[47] Koster replied that it was 'impossible that a later stage were present, in all its essentials, in manuscript testimony from before the MS without singular deviations from which it supposedly derived, like TR/ST from 9b1 etc.'[48] The two positions can be reconciled since Koster added 'in all its essentials', and since, in his answer, Gelston conceded that he had established only that a number of readings characteristic of the standard text were already in existence earlier than the ninth century, leaving open the possibility that the standard text *as a whole* might be attested only in manuscripts from the ninth century and later.[49]

I would still contend that the evidence of Theodore bar Koni, combined with Gelston's data and the fact that even some eighth-century manuscripts, such as 8j1 for Isaiah, have several TR/ST readings, lends some support to Jenner's recent criticism of Koster's three-stage model. Jenner proposes:[50]

> – de considérer l'évolution linéaire de Koster comme le résultat d'une illusion d'optique, due au petit nombre de manuscripts anciens qui ont survécu. ...
> – d'envisager les manuscripts anciens comme des copies d'exemplaires antérieurs au V^{e} siècle, de sorte que la variété des types textuels aurait déjà existé dans une période ancienne et obscure.

[47] A. Gelston, *The Peshiṭta of the Twelve Prophets* (Oxford, 1987), 88.

[48] Most recently, M.D. Koster, 'A New Introduction to the Peshitta of the Old Testament', *AS* 1 (2003), 211–246, esp. 229–232, 234; quotation from 231. See also idem, *The Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 531–535; idem, Review of A. Gelston, *The Peshiṭta of the Twelve Prophets*, in *JSSt* 33 (1988), 281–285; idem, 'The Copernican Revolution', 36–40; as well as P.B. Dirksen, Review of A. Gelston, *The Peshiṭta of the Twelve Prophets*, in *BiOr* 46 (1989), 152–154, and idem, 'East and West, Old and Young, in the Text Tradition of the Old Testament Peshiṭta' (PIC 19), *VT* 35 (1985), 468–484, esp. 479–480.

[49] A. Gelston, 'The Twelve Prophets, Peshitta and Targum', in Flesher (ed.), *Targum Studies* 2, 119–139, esp. 135.

[50] K.D. Jenner, 'La Peshitta: fille du texte massorétique?', in A. Schenker and Ph. Hugo (eds.), *L'enfance de la Bible hébraïque: Histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament* (Le Monde de la Bible 52; Genève, 2005), 238–263, esp. 259.

Jenner points to the accidental nature of our present collection of manuscripts, suggesting that Koster has drawn conclusions *e silentio*. He also stresses the importance of the witness of the Syriac Fathers: Koster has not been able to accord them their due place in his linear and longitudinal model.[51]

Though Koster is right when he says that the text of the Peshitta was gradually growing away from the original translation, which remained close to the Masoretic Text, the question is when this happened. The way he presents his three-stage model suggests that this was a process of several centuries, in which the standard text of the Pentateuch only appeared after MS 9b1, which is then thought to be a 'deteriorated descendant' of 8a1 (or a manuscript very close to it).[52] It is, however, not completely impossible that Koster's three stages were already present in the fifth century. The text of Aphrahat, but also the nature of Ephrem's Genesis and Exodus text as well as that of the Σύρος readings, suggest that many readings of the BTR text (Koster's name for the second phase, that of the seventh- and eighth-century manuscripts) had already come into existence by the fourth century.[53] And likewise, a predecessor of the TR/ST text (which lies much closer to BTR than BTR to 5b1 or 9a1 anyway), may have been present already in the eighth century, as Theodore's text and 8j1 would seem to indicate, or even a century or more earlier.

Jenner or Gelston can no more demonstrate the presence of the standard text before the fifth century than Koster can demonstrate the longitudinal nature of his model, but the readings of the Fathers do form a problem for Koster's idea that there was no BTR before the seventh century and no TR before the ninth. We should at least reckon with the possibility that text forms existed earlier than the first remaining biblical manuscripts that exhibit it. After all, 'texts do not appear out of the blue', as Jenner recently told me.

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[51] Jenner, 'La Peshitta', 259 n. 82.

[52] Quotation from Koster, 'A New Introduction', 234. See also note 48 above.

[53] On the basis of his codicological studies, K.D. Jenner, *De Perikopentitels van de geïllustreerde Syrische kanselbijbel van Parijs (MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Syriaque, 341): Een vergelijkend onderzoek naar de oudste Syrische perikopenstelstels* (doctoral dissertation; Leiden, 1993), 356–357; on the basis of 5b1 and Ephrem, Romeny, 'Techniques of Translation and Transmission', 183–184; cf. also idem, 'The Syriac Versions of the Old Testament', in Maroun Atallah et al. (eds.), *Sources syriaques* 1. *Nos sources: arts et littérature syriaques* (Antélias, 2005), 76. Even Koster himself conceded that Aphrahat's readings were a 'very early testimony' of BTR: 'A New Introduction', 231–232. Cf. now also Jenner, Van Peursen, and Talstra, 'Interdisciplinary Debate', 39.

6. *Conclusions*

There is still much to do. First, later witnesses such as Dionysius bar Ṣalibi[54] and Barhebraeus[55] should also be studied. It would be interesting, for example, to see the spread of the standard text in these two West Syrian authors. In addition, one would also like to know whether a number of slight variants found in manuscripts later than the thirteenth century, which for that reason did not make it into the Leiden edition but which did influence some of the earlier printed editions, can already be found in Dionysius and Barhebraeus' writings. Second, there are some more problematic witnesses that need to be studied. Here I am thinking of exegetical texts of a poetic nature, where the text may have been changed under the constraints of metre, and of the remains of the earliest translations from Greek exegetical works, which still adopted the biblical text from the Peshitta.

Yet on the basis of the material presented here, we can already draw the following conclusions. Our witnesses to the Syriac text of Isaiah for the earliest period, Aphrahat and the Greek Σύρος readings, are not without problems. Nevertheless, we could perhaps say that they do not contradict the idea, based mainly on the study of other books of the Bible, that the early witnesses, though they stay well within the limits of the Peshitta tradition, contain more variants, some of which are closer to the Hebrew text, while others already reflect readings we are familiar with from the seventh and eighth century manuscripts (BTR). Severus' text teaches us that in the West, variation was still possible as late as the ninth century, and that the biblical manuscript 9a1 was not an isolated case. Theodore bar Koni, finally, yields additional evidence in favour of the idea that the standard text, or *Textus Receptus*, was already available in the eighth century. If Jenner is indeed right that this standard was sponsored by the Catholicos-Patriarch Timothy I, it must have been based on a pre-existing text.

We have also seen that in the study of the biblical quotations of the Fathers, we are always dealing with two main questions: which text was used, and how was this text used. As the answer to the latter question often determines the answer to the first, the study of the scriptural texts quoted in exegesis and liturgy is not only an inquiry into textual history, but of necessity also an inquiry into the development of liturgy and of

[54] On the manuscript tradition, cf. Samir Khalil, S.J., 'Le commentaire d'Isaïe de Denys bar Ṣalībī: Notes bibliographiques', *OrChr* 62 (1978), 158–165. Cf. also Van Rompay, 'Development of Biblical Interpretation', 573–574.

[55] Edition: O.F. Tullberg, *Gregorii Bar Hebraei in Jesaiam Scholia* (Uppsala, 1842). Cf. Van Rompay, 'Development of Biblical Interpretation', 574–576.

ideas on the method of exegesis. The results of these inquiries will help to provide a context for the textual history of the Syriac versions: it will find a place within the cultural history of Syriac Christianity. With his studies on the lectionary system and his strong support for the study of exegetical literature and Syriac Church History, Konrad Jenner has showed us the way.

THE TEXT OF THE PSALMS IN THE SHORTER SYRIAC COMMENTARY OF ATHANASIUS

*Harry F. van Rooy**

1. *Introduction*

The original Greek Commentary on the Psalms by Athanasius is extant in two Syriac versions, a shorter and a longer one. The longer version dates from the sixth century and the shorter from the eight or ninth century. At the meeting of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies in Basel and the Peshitta Symposium in Leiden in 2001 I read papers about the headings of the Psalms in the two Syriac verions,[1] as well as the Syriac text of the Psalms in the longer commentary.[2] This paper examines the Syriac text of the Psalms in the shorter Syriac version of the commentary of Athanasius. This study could shed some light on the history of the different versions of the Psalter in Syriac, albeit evidence of a very indirect nature. One must keep the very complex history of the text in mind. The longer Syriac version of the commentary must be related to a Greek original in some way. Athanasius used the text of the Septuagint in the commentary, which in turn is in some way related to a Hebrew text. The text of the Septuagint had its own development and a study of the Greek biblical text of Athanasius would be an undertaking worthy of pursuit. The translator of the original Syriac version had a number of options for his biblical text:

1. He could translate the Greek of the version he used for his translation of the commentary;
2. He could have used a Syriac translation or translations at his disposal;

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* It is a privilege to dedicate this article to Konrad Jenner, a good friend who has welcomed me at the Peshitta Institute, who has made my several visits unforgettable and who has always gone out of his way to help me.

[1] H.F. van Rooy, 'The Headings of the Psalms in the Two Syriac Versions of the Commentary of Athanasius on the Psalms', *Old Testament Essays* 17 (2004), 659–677.

[2] H.F. van Rooy, 'The Peshitta and Biblical Quotations in the Longer Syriac Version of the Commentary of Athanasius on the Psalms (B.M. Additional Manuscript 14568) with Special Attention to Psalm 23 (24) and 102 (103)' . To Appear in the Proceedings of the Peshitta Symposium 2001.

3. He could have used a combination of his own translation and existing translations.

In the case of the shorter version of the commentary, the matter is even more complex. It is quite clear that the shorter Syriac version is an abridgement of the longer version. It is not a translation from the Greek. The author of the shorter version could have used the translation as in the older (longer) version, or he could have used one of the existing Syriac translations, or a combination of the different possibilities.

The question to be answered by this paper is related to the possibilities just mentioned: What was the methodology used by the author of the shorter version of the commentary in Syriac for his Syriac text of the Psalms? In shorter quotations of a biblical text an author may quote the text from memory. This would not be the case in a commentary.[3] For a critical text of a biblical book, patristic evidence is usually not regarded highly,[4] but the information may be valuable for the history of different translations. It is also possible, however, that a Church Father may have preserved a reading with significant independent value.[5]

In the first part of the paper a few remarks will be made with respect to the texts used in this study and the different options available. In a next section a comparative study will be made of the Syriac text used by the translator, with concluding remarks to follow.

2. *Texts and Translations*

The Syriac text of the commentary of Athanasius was published by Thomson in 1977, with a translation in a separate volume.[6] These volumes contain the commentary in an abbreviated and a fuller form. In his introduction to the text, Thomson describes the manuscripts containing the two versions. The abbreviated version is from British Museum Additional manuscript 12168, dating from the eight or ninth century. The longer version is also in a manuscript from the British Museum: Additional manuscript 14568. This manuscript dates from 597. The later, abbreviated, version is the subject of this paper. In his

[3] Cf. B.M. Metzger, 'Patristic Evidence and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament', *NTS* 18 (1971), 379.

[4] Cf. Metzger, 'Patristic Evidence', 386.

[5] Cf. M.J. Suggs, 'The Use of Patristic Evidence in the Search for a Primitive New Testament Text', *NTS* 4 (1957/8), 139.

[6] Text: R.W. Thomson, *Athanasiana Syriaca* 4. *Expositio in psalmos* 1. *Abbreviated Version* 2. *Longer Version* (CSCO 386, Syr 167; Louvain, 1977). Translation: R.W. Thomson, *Athanasiana Syriaca* 4. *Expositio in psalmos* 1. *Abbreviated Version* 2. *Longer Version* (CSCO 387, Syr 168; Louvain, 1977).

Preface to the translation, Thomson says that the longer version, which is in a fragmentary state, is similar to the text published in Migne (P.G. 27.60–545), but is, nevertheless, not identical to that text. It also contains material not found in the Greek text.[7]

A question that must be asked when studying an ancient biblical commentary is which texts the commentator had at his disposal.[8] In the case of the translation of a commentary from another language, the matter is even more complicated. Here the question is whether the translator simply translated the Greek, or used translations in the target language as well. In an abridged version of the commentary, one must take the version of the unabridged version into consideration, as well as the other translations the author had at his disposal.

For purposes of the present study of the biblical text in the abridged Syriac version, it is accepted that the author did not make a new translation from the original Greek commentary.[9] To determine the origin of the text contained in the abridged version, this text is compared with three other Syriac versions of the Psalter, namely the one contained in the unabridged version of the commentary and the two other important Syriac versions of the Psalter, the Peshitta and the Syro-Hexapla. For the Peshitta the Leiden Peshitta is used.[10]

As far as the text of the Psalms in the Syro-Hexapla is concerned, a few remarks must be made. The Syro-Hexapla is usually ascribed to Paul of Tella and dates from 616/7.[11] This translation is younger than the manuscript containing the longer Syriac version of the commentary of Athanasius on the Psalms, but older than the manuscript with the abridged version of the commentary. The text of the Psalms in the Syro-Hexapla is not a typical hexaplaric text.[12] Hiebert made a thorough study of all the available manuscripts of the Syro-Hexaplaric Psalter.[13] He distinguished three different traditions in the different manuscripts of the Syro-Hexaplaric Psalter, which he called SyrPs, SyrPs^{a} and SyrPs^{b}. The last two traditions appear mainly in the manuscripts Hiebert designated h and j.[14] SyrPs^{a} occurs in them up to Psalm 27:6 and SyrPs^{b}

[7] Thomson, *Athanasiana Syriaca* Text, ix–x.

[8] Cf. P.A.H. de Boer, 'Towards an Edition of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament' (PIC 16), *VT* 31 (1971), 355.

[9] Cf. Thomson, *Athanasiana Syriaca*, Translation, i.

[10] D.M. Walter (ed.), *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version* 2.3. *The Book of the Psalms* (Leiden, 1980).

[11] Cf. R.J.V. Hiebert, *The 'Syrohexaplaric' Psalter* (SBL.SCS 23; Atlanta, 1989), 1.

[12] Hiebert, *'Syrohexaplaric' Psalter*, 2.

[13] Cf. Hiebert, '*Syrohexaplaric' Psalter*, 5–13 for a full discussion of the manuscripts.

[14] The two manuscripts are Baghdad Chaldean Patriarchate 1112 and Paris, National Library Syr 9, both discussed by Hiebert; cf. note 13.

from Psalm 27:7 onwards. He regards SyrPs and SyrPs^{a} both as revisions of the Philoxenian Psalter, the first perhaps associated with Paul of Tella and the second with Thomas of Harkel. He regards SyrPs^{b} as a revision of SyrPs, based on SyrPs^{a}.[15] Philoxenus lived between about 440 and 523, while Thomas of Harkel was a contemporary of Paul. According to this theory, the revisions of the Psalter of Philoxenus took place later than the manuscript of the longer version, while the version of Philoxenus itself was older. It is quite interesting that the manuscript of the longer version of the commentary contains a version of Psalm 151 very closely related to the version of the Syro-Hexapla,[16] supporting the theory that the Syro-Hexapla used an older version of the Psalter in Syriac. Many of the readings in the longer version of the commentary agree with readings of the Syro-Hexapla, against the Peshitta.

In a previous study[17] I examined the text of the Psalms in the longer Syriac version of the commentary of Athanasius on the Psalms (British Museum Additional Manuscript 14568) with special attention to Psalm 23 (24) and 102 (103). The texts of these Psalms in the longer Syriac version of the commentary of Athanasius present a mixed form. A text in between the Peshitta and the Syro-Hexapla was probably used as base text. In agreement with the thesis of Hiebert this text can probably be identified as the Psalter of Philoxenus.[18] In his discussion of the relationship between the Syro-Hexaplaric Psalter and the Philoxenian version, Hiebert noted a number of features that are common to the Syro-Hexaplaric Psalter and the Philoxenian version, and also a number of features that are common to the Syrohexaplaric and Harklean versions but not to the Philoxenian version.[19] In my paper referred to above, the appropriate readings in this regard in the text of Athanasius were investigated.

Hiebert listed six features where the Syro-Hexaplaric Psalter agrees with the Syro-Hexapla and the Harklean version, but not with Philoxenus. He gave many examples in his footnotes.[20] In a number of these instances the corresponding passage occurs in the commentary of Athana-

[15] Hiebert, *'Syrohexaplaric' Psalter*, 260.

[16] Cf. W. Baars (ed.), *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version* 4.6. *Apocryphal Psalms* (Leiden, 1972), vii–viii, 1–4.

[17] Van Rooy, 'Peshitta and Biblical Quotations'.

[18] Cf. Hiebert, '*Syrohexaplaric' Psalter*, 248–251.

[19] Hiebert, '*Syrohexaplaric' Psalter*, 252–257. It must be noted that Philoxenus did not use the translation linked to him for his quotations of the Psalms in his works postdating that translation. Cf. R.G. Jenkins, *The Old Testament Quotations of Philoxenus of Mabbug* (CSCO 514, Sub 84; Leuven, 1989), 177.

[20] Cf. Hiebert, '*Syrohexaplaric' Psalter*, 254 and footnotes 58–63.

sius. These examples were discussed in my previous paper and they argue in favour of a close relationship between the base text used in the commentary and the version of Philoxenus. This version was the result of editing a text of the Peshitta to bring it more in line with the Septuagint. With regard to the Syro-Hexaplaric Psalter, Hiebert concluded that it has distinct affinities with the Philoxenian version, but that it is not identical with it. He thought that it has the same relationship to the Philoxenian as the Harklean New Testament has, viz., a revision to bring it closer to the Greek.[21] The text of the Psalms, if not purely Philoxenian, is at least close to it. The same can be said of the text of the Psalms in the longer Syriac version of the commentary, but this text is even closer to the Philoxenian, if one does not want to regard it as an example of the Philoxenian Psalter.

3. *The Texts of the Psalms in the Longer Version of the Commentary*

In the previous study special attention was given to Psalms 23 (24) and 102 (103). A good starting point would be to look at the sections from these two Psalms that do occur in the shorter version of the commentary. One important difference between the two commentaries is that the longer version has the full text of the Psalm, while the shorter version has only those sections commented on. In some instances a whole verse or a substantial part of a verse is quoted, while in other instances a single word or just a couple of words from the Biblical Psalter may be quoted, sometimes in a new context in the commentary.

In the following section the Syriac texts of the Peshitta, the longer version of the commentary of Athanasius and the Syro-Hexapla are given in consecutive lines, first the text of the Peshitta, followed by Athanasius (A1) and the Syro-Hexapla. Only those lines are quoted where at least one word is used in the shorter commentary. Of the shorter version (A2) only the words quoted are given.

Ps 23 (24)

Heading A1 ܡܙܡܘܪ ܠܕܘܝܕ ܕܒܫܒܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ

Heading S ܡܙܡܘܪ ܠܕܘܝܕ ܕܒܫܒܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ

Heading A2 ܡܙܡܘܪ ܠܕܘܝܕ ܕܒܫܒܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ

[21] R.J.V. Hiebert, 'The "Syrohexaplaric" Psalter: Its Text and Textual History', in A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast (eds.) *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen* (MSU 24; Göttingen, 2000), 140.

1. P ...ויהי כי החל האדם לרבות על פני האדמה...
A1 ...כי החל האדם לרבות על פני האדמה...
S ...ויהי כי החל האדם לרבות על פני האדמה...
כי ...
A2 ...ויהי האדם על פני...

2. P ...ויולדו להם בנות. ויראו בני האלהים את בנות האדם...
A1 ...ויולדו להם בנות. ויראו בני האלהים כי הן...
S ...ויולדו להם בנות. ויראו בני האלהים כי הן...
A2 ויראו בני האלהים ... ויקחו להם...

3. P ...ויהי מלאכי יסוד הבנה. ויהי הבל יולדו בשר הבה.
A1 ...ויהי מלאכי יסוד הבנה כי. ויהי הבל יולדו בשר הבה.
S ...ויהי מלאכי יסוד הבנה. ויהי הבל יולדו בשר הבה.
A2 ...ויהי מלאכי יסוד הבנה. ויהי הבל יולדו בשר הבה.

4. P ...לא ישלוט רוחי באדם לעולם, בשגם הוא בשר...
ויהיו ימיו מאה ועשרים שנה.
A1 ...בשר הוא לשונאים יהיו ימיו. ...לעולם, בשגם הוא בשר...
ויהיו ימיו מאה ועשרים שנה.
S ...לא ישלוט רוחי לעולם בשר הוא. ...לעולם, בשגם הוא בשר...
ויהיו ימיו מאה ועשרים שנה.
In the case of verse 4 the shorter commentary does not quote the words of the original, but paraphases it: A2
...ויאמר יהוה, לא ישלוט רוחי באדם לעולם, בשגם הוא בשר...
ויהיו ימיו מאה ועשרים שנה.

8. P ...ויהי נח איש צדיק תמים היה בדורותיו. ויולד נח את שם את חם ואת יפת.
A1 ...ויהי נח איש צדיק תמים היה בדורותיו. ויולד נח את שם, חם ויפת.
S ...ויהי נח איש צדיק תמים היה בדורותיו. ויולד נח את שם, חם ויפת.
A2 ...ויולד נח את שם, חם ויפת.
This is then followed by a short section of commentary, followed by: ...ויהי נח איש צדיק תמים היה בדורותיו. ויולד נח את שם, חם ויפת.

10. P ...ויולד נח את שם, חם ויפת. ויחל האדם לרבות על פני האדמה...
A1 ...ויולד נח את שם, חם ויפת, כי החל האדם לרבות על פני האדמה...
S ...ויולד נח את שם, חם ויפת, כי החל האדם לרבות על פני האדמה...
A2 ...ויולד נח את שם, חם ויפת,

Ps 102 (103)

In the case of this Psalm, the commentary incorporated sections of the text of the Psalm, creating a new literary unit. This new unit links up with the Psalm itself, but includes other material as well, such as from the New Testament. It tends to paraphrase the biblical text, adapting it to the needs of the new unit.

Heading A1 ...
Heading S ...
Heading A2 ...

1. P ... ...
A1 ... ...
S ... ...
A2 ... ...

2. P ... ...
A1 ... ...
S ... ...
A2 ... ...

3. P ... ...
A1 ... ...
S ... ...
A2 ... ...

4. P ... ...
A1 ... ...
S ... ...
A2 ... ...

5. P ... ...
A1 ... ...
S ... ...
A2 ...

7. P ... ...
A1 ... ...
S ... ...
A2 ...

9. P ...שלחו יקר שלח שלח. שלח שלח שלח שלח שלח
A1 ...שלחתם יקרות שלח שלחתם יקר שלח שלח
S ...שלחתם יקר שלח שלח. יקר יקרת שלח
A2 ...שלח שלחתם יקר שלח שלח

10. P ...יקר לחם שלח שלחתם. לי יכול שמלה שלח שלחם שלח
A1 ...יקר לחמי שלח שלחתם. לי יכול שמלה שלח שלח
S יקר ...שלחתם שלח שלח שלחתם. לי יכול שמלה שלח שלחם שלח
...לי
A2 ...לי יקר ...שלחתם שלח שלח שלחתם. לי יכול שמלה שלח שלח

13. P ...שלחו לי שיר שמיר. שיר לי שלח שמירה שלחו,
A1 ...שלחו לי שיר שמי. שיר לי שלח שמירה שלחו,
S ...שלחתי שיר ...שי. שיר לי שלח ...שמי שלחתם,
A2 Again a paraphrase: ...שלחתי לי שם שלח

14. P ...שי שיקרו יקרתם. ...שלחתי יכול שמו שלח
A1 ...שמח שיקרו שיר יקרתם. ...שלחתי יכול שלו שלח
S ...שלחם שיקרו יקרתם. ...שלחתי יכול שלו שלח
A2 ...שיקר שלחתי. ...שלחתי יכולו שלח

15. P ...שלי לחם שלמו שקרת שלחו, ...שלחו שיקרת שלח שיקר
A1 ...שקרו לחם שלמו שקרת שלח, ...שלחו שיקרת שלח שיקר
S ...שלחתי שלחם שלמו שלחם שלח. ...שלחו שיקרת שלח שיקר
A2 ...שלחי שלמו שלחתם שיקרת שלחו

19. P ...שלחי לכל שלחכלתם. ...שמיכות שלחו שלחכם שיקר
A1 ...שלחי לכלי שלחכלתם. ...שמיכות שלחו שלחכם שיקר
S ...שלחי לי לי שלחכלתם. ...שמיכות שלחו שלחכם שיקר
A2 ...שמיכות שלחו שלחכם יכול

20. P ...שמעקת יכלכם שלמי יכלו, ...שלחכלת שיקל יכול
A1 ...שלחי יכלכם שלמי יכלו, ...שלחכלת ...שמלחו שיקל יכול
...שלחו שלי יכלכם.
S ...שלחי יכלי שלמי שקר, ...שלחכלת ...שמלחו שיקל יכול
...שלחו שלי יכלכם.

21. P ...שלכי יכלכו, ...שלחכלתם. שלחלתי ...שמלחו שיקל יכול
A1 ...שלכי יכלכו, ...שלחכלתם. שלחלתי ...שמלחו שיקל יכול
S ...שלכי יכלכו, ...שלחכלתם. שלחלתי ...שמלחו שיקל יכול
A2 In verse 20–21, only a part is retained in A2, in a new context: ...שיקרת לכל שלחלתי שקרתם לכם שלח

.22 P ܕܥܒ ܕܝܕ. ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܪܝܢ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܡܪ ,ܡܡܪܬܐ ـ ܥܠܡܐ ܡܪܝܢ ܠܕܝܕ ܡܙܡܘܪ ܕܝܕ ܕܥܒ ܠܡܪܝܢ.

A1 ܕܥܒ ܕܝܕ ܡܫܠܡܢ ܝܗܒ ܠܥܒܕ ,ܡܡܪܬܐ ـ ܥܠܡܐ ܡܪܝܢ ܠܕܝܕ ܡܙܡܘܪ ܕܝܕ ܕܥܒ ܠܡܪܝܢ.

S ܕܥܒ ܕܝܕ. ܡܫܠܡܢ ܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ ,ܡܡܪܬܐ ـ ܥܠܡܐ ܡܪܝܢ ܠܕܝܕ ܡܙܡܘܪ ܕܝܕ ܕܥܒ ܠܡܪܝܢ.

A2 ܡܪܝܢ ܠܥܒܕ ܡܫܫܒ ,ܡܡܪܬܐ ـ ܥܠܡܐ ܟܠ ܕܐܡܪ

4. *General Discussion*

There are but a small number of instances where the shorter version of the commentary contains the whole verse. In the case of the heading of Psalm 23 the shorter version agrees with the longer version. The heading of Psalm 102 is the same in the two versions of the commentary and in the Syro-Hexapla. The quotation of the shorter version of Psalm 23:3 agrees with the Syro-Hexapla. In Psalm 23:8 its quotation is split in two, but agrees with the Syro-Hexapla.

More frequently the shorter version contains only a part of the verse. In some instances a whole phrase is retained and in some instances the words retained are given in a new context. These parts frequently agree with the text of the Syro-Hexapla. A whole phrase agreeing with the Syro-Hexapla occurs in Psalm 23:1. In Psalm 23:10 the words agree with the Syro-Hexapla, but in a different order.

In Psalm 23:2 only two important words are retained, in a new context. In this instance the two words agree with the Peshitta. ܡܫܬܝܢ occurs only in the Peshitta, whereas the verb occurs in the longer version as well. In Psalm 102:1 the shorter commentary adds 'the Lord' to the phrase 'the holy name'. The phrase itself agrees with the Peshitta and the longer commentary by adding a suffix to 'name'. In the Syro-Hexapla the suffix 'his' is added to ܫܡ. Of Psalm 102:7, only the name Moses, occurring in al three versions, is retained.

In some instances the shorter commentary paraphrases the words of the text, as in Psalm 23:4, where only one word can be related directly to one of the other versions ܡܚܐ, in this instance again probably to the Syro-Hexapla. The paraphrases in Psalm 102:2, 5, 19 and 20–21 can be related to any of the other versions, whereas the paraphrase in Psalm 102:3 is related to the Peshitta, at least as far as the beginning of the verse is concerned (the last word agrees with the longer version), the one in Psalm 102:4 to the longer version and the ones in Psalm 102:9, 13, 14, 15 and 22 to the Syro-Hexapla.

The first part of the quotation in Psalm 102:10 agrees with the longer version (the difference between this version and the other two

versions is only the ommission of ܐܦܝ). The second part agrees with the Syro-Hexapla.

With regard to the text used for the Syro-Hexapla, not one of the variants in manuscripts h and j occur in this version. The text is basically that of the Codex Ambrosianus.

With regard to variants in the Greek and their appearance in the Syro-Hexapla, in comparison with the Peshitta, the following remarks can be made.[22] Not all the instances of variants appear in the shorter version. In Psalm 23 (24):2 the Peshitta has ܠܐ, agreeing with the Masoretic Text. The Septuagint, Syro-Hexapla and both versions of Athanasius have no particle here. This is the only instance of a variant where the shorter version has the relevant text, and further study of variants in other Psalms must be made before any conclusions can be reached.

5. *Conclusions*

The text of Ps 23 (24) and 102 (103) in the longer Syriac version of the commentary of Athanasius presents a mixed form. A text in-between the Peshitta and the Syro-Hexapla has probably been used as base text. In agreement with the thesis of Hiebert this text can probably be identified as the Psalter of Philoxenus. In the case of the text used in the shorter version of the commentary, traces can be found of the text used in the longer version, as well as of the text of the Peshitta and the Syro-Hexapla. In some instances a decision can not be made, because of the agreement between the three versions in those instances (or between the longer version and the Syro-Hexapla of the heading of Psalm 102). Examples are found in Psalm 102:7, as well as in the paraphrases in Psalm 102:2, 5, 19 and 20–21.

The text of the longer version occurs in the heading of Psalm 23 and in Psalm 102:4 and 10a. The heading does not contain an important variant, as it is only related to the division of a word. The other two examples, however, demonstrate that the author of the shorter version used the same version of the Psalter as in the longer version in some instances. This is to be expected, since the commentary contained in the shorter version is clearly an abridgement of the longer version.

The text of the Peshitta occurs in Psalm 23:2 and 102:3. In the case of Psalm 23:2 the form of the Peshitta, with the preposition ܕ, not ܥܠ as in the other versions, fits better in the context of the commentary

[22] A full discussion of all these variants is presented in the work named in footnote 2 above.

('and with rivers too he adorned it'). In 102:3 the beginning of the verse agrees with the Peshitta, against the longer version and the Syro-Hexapla. Only two instances of agreement between the shorter version and the Peshitta may not be enough to make a firm conclusion at this stage of the research, but they may point in the direction that the author had the Peshitta at his disposal as well. Further research in the remainder in of the shorter version may perhaps confirm this, but a final conclusion is not possible at present.

The text of the Syro-Hexapla occurs in Psalm 23:1, 3, 4, 8, 10 and Psalm 102:9, 10b, 13, 14, 15 and 22. The Syro-Hexapla is used most frequently in the shorter version, probably on account of its relation to the Septuagint, the text used for the original Greek version of the commentary. The text of the Syro-Hexapla used in the shorter version of the commentary is close, if not identical, to the text of the *Codex Ambrosianus*. It has, as far as the examples discussed are concerned, no readings agreeing with readings in the other two traditions of the Syro-Hexplaric Psalter identified by Hiebert.

THE GENESIS TEXTS OF JACOB OF EDESSA: A STUDY IN VARIETY

Alison Salvesen

In the paper he presented at the Peshitta Symposium in 1993,[1] our honorand Konrad Jenner put forward some important questions regarding the Old Testament version created by the Syrian Orthodox scholar and bishop, Jacob of Edessa (d. 708). These questions both built upon and reacted to the earlier formulations of Baars and Goshen-Gottstein concerning Jacob's version. Jenner asks what was the intention of Jacob's revisional activity; in which places did he take the Syro-Hexapla as a basis and where did he prefer the Peshitta; whether there is a pattern in his choices; and finally whether his method (if he had one) is consistent.[2] In a limited way, this present paper will try to respond to those questions.

So far only Jacob's version of Samuel has been studied in a systematic way,[3] and the results of that work may not be applicable to other parts of his revision of the Old Testament text, especially since the situation in 1–2 Samuel may have been complicated by the strong influence of the Lucianic recension for those books.[4]

The manuscript of Jacob of Edessa's version of the Pentateuch, along with the other extant portions of his revision of the Syriac Old Testament, has been known to the West for more than two centuries, since Sylvestre de Sacy's notice in 1798–99 on MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Syr. 26.[5] The manuscript dates from the early eighth century.[6]

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[1] K.D. Jenner, 'Nominal Clauses in the Peshitta and Jacob of Edessa', in P.B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij (eds.), *The Peshitta as a Translation. Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19–21 August 1993* (MPIL 8; Leiden, 1995), [47–61] 49.

[2] Jenner, 'Nominal Clauses', 49.

[3] For Jacob's version of Samuel, see the textual study of R.J. Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript of Jacob of Edessa. A Study in Its Underlying Textual Traditions.* (MPIL 9; Leiden, 1998), and the edition of the present writer, *The Books of Jacob in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa* (MPIL 10; Leiden, 1999).

[4] Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 118–122.

[5] S. de Sacy, 'Notice d'un Manuscrit syriaque, contenant les livres de Moïse', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 4 (Paris, 1798–99), 648–668. For a description of the manuscript, see the catalogue of H. Zotenberg, *Manuscrits orientaux. Catalogues des manscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la Bibliothéque Nationale* (Paris, 1874), 10.

It is not complete, pages being missing for some of the most interesting parts of the book, for instance Gen 1:16–3:20.[7] Other parts are not particularly legible, and on the whole the present condition of the manuscript is not as good that of Jacob's version of Samuel which was written at about the same time.[8]

Some verses from Jacob's version of Genesis were published in the nineteenth century by Michaelis, Bugati and Ceriani, with brief comments on their relationship to the other versions.[9] Although there was no published edition of the text,[10] a number of other scholars consulted the manuscript for their studies of Jacob's other works. Hence Nau commented that the text of Genesis cited by Jacob in his Letter XIII to John the Stylite resembled that of his biblical version.[11] L'Abbé Martin came to a similar conclusion regarding the scriptural texts in Jacob's Hexaemeron: 'nous avons constaté, à n'en pas douter, que Jacques d'Édesse se servait de sa propre recension dans l'Ancien Testament.'[12] Besides,

[6] F. Nau, 'Traduction des lettres XII et XIII de Jacques d'Édesse (exégèse biblique)', *ROC* 10 (1905), 197–208; 258–282: on 197 n. 3 he says that the colophon at the end of Genesis (folio 102 col. b) gives the date of the Genesis version as 1015 A.G. (i.e. 704 CE). However, this passage is no longer fully legible, at least on the microfilm, and interestingly Zotenberg does not mention it in his catalogue description. The line above the date is clearly marked, but not the letters beneath it.

[7] Also Gen 32:13–33:10; 43:33–44:28. See Zotenberg, ibid., or W. Baars, 'Ein neugefundenes Bruchstück aus der syrischen Bibelrevision des Jakob von Edessa' *VT* 56 (1968), 548 n. 3, for lacunae in the Pentateuch manuscript as a whole.

[8] The date of the copying of the Samuel manuscript is given as 719 CE in a superscription on folio 1r (MS Britsh Museum Add. 14,429). The manuscript of Jacob's version of Daniel is dated in a colophon to 720 CE (MS Syr. 27, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

[9] J.D. Michaelis, *Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek* 18 (1782), 180-183, for Gen 49:2–11. C. Bugati, *Daniel secundum editionem Septuagint interpretum ex tetraplis desumptum* (Milan, 1788), xi–xvi, 150–151, 157–158 also includes Gen 11:1–9 and Gen 49:2–11, which were reprinted in J.B. Eichhorn, *Allgemeine Bibliothek* 2 (1789), 270–293; A.M. Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana* 2.1 (Milan, 1863), x–xii, gives Gen 4:8–16 and 5:21–6:1.

After I had finished this article, the following paper was brought to my attention: R.B. ter Haar Romeny, 'Jacob of Edessa on Genesis: his Quotations of the Peshitta and his Revision of the Text' in R.B. ter Haar Romeny and K.D. Jenner (eds.), *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day* (MPIL; Leiden, forthcoming).

[10] The Pentateuch manuscript as a whole remains unpublished. For Jacob's version of Samuel, see note 3. Emmanuel Papoutsakis is currently preparing an edition of Jacob's version of Daniel for the same series.

[11] Nau, 'Traduction', 197.

[12] L'Abbé Martin, 'L'Hexaméron de Jacques d'Édesse', *JAs* (8ème sér.) 11 (1888), 155–219; 401–90, especially 171–179. Hjelt accepted his conclusion without question (A. Hjelt, *Études sur l'Hexaméron de Jacques d'Édesse, notamment sur ses notions géographiques contenues dans le 3ième traité* [Helsinki, 1892], 17–18). The Genesis texts cited by Jacob in the Hexaemeron are Gen 1:6–27; 3:1–5; 3:17–19; 27:12; 49:10.

since Jacob left the Hexaemeron incomplete when he died in 708, he was almost certainly working on it after he had completed his version of the Old Testament in around 705, and thus the latter was available for consultation should he have wished to use it.[13]

However, the afore-mentioned scholars made only very cursory comparisons between Jacob's version of Genesis, his other citations from that book, and the Peshitta, Syro-Hexapla and Septuagint. Furthermore, they published their studies before the appearance of several important critical editions, namely the Leiden Peshitta edition of Genesis,[14] the Göttingen Septuagint edition of Wevers,[15] and its predecessor by Rahlfs,[16] and even before Brooke–MacLean.[17] Furthermore, a number of Syro-Hexaplaric witnesses to Genesis remained unknown, and various new editions had yet to appear, including that of Lagarde,[18] Gwynn,[19] Goshen-Gottstein,[20] Baars,[21] and Vööbus's facsimile edition of most of the Pentateuch.[22] The time is therefore ripe for a study of the whole of Jacob's version of Genesis in the light of these new editions along the lines of Saley's careful work on Jacob's version of Samuel.[23]

[13] The Hexaemeron was completed by George, bishop of the Arabs, according to a comment towards the end of the work that precedes the section for which George was apparently responsible. The edition of the Hexaemeron by J.-B. Chabot is largely a photographic reproduction of one manuscript (*Iacobi Edesseni Hexaemeron seu in opus creationi libri septem* [CSCO 92, Syr. 44; Louvain, 1928]). A Latin translation was made by A. Vaschalde, in the accompanying volume (CSCO 97, Syr. 48; Louvain, 1932). Baars is another scholar who has suggested that it is likely that Jacob used his own version of Genesis for the Hexaemeron citations ('Ein neugefundenes Bruchstück', 549).

[14] *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version* 1.1. *Genesis–Exodus*. (Leiden 1977).

[15] J.W. Wevers (ed.), *Septuaginta vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis* 1. *Genesis* (Göttingen 1974).

[16] A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta Septuagint interpres* 1. *Leges et historiae* (Stuttgart, 1935).

[17] A.E. Brooke–N. McLean (eds.), *The Old Testament in Greek* 1.1. *Genesis* (Cambridge, 1906).

[18] P. de Lagarde (ed.), *Bibliothecae Syriacae* (Göttingen, 1892). However, see the comments of Wevers, *Genesis*, 51–52, on this edition and its relationship to the 1863 edition of Ceriani.

[19] J. Gwynn, *Remnants of the Later Syriac versions of the Bible* (Text and Translation Society; London–Oxford, 1909), 3 for Gen 26:26–31.

[20] M.H. Gottstein, 'Neue Syrohexaplafragmente', *Biblica* 37 (1956), 162–183 for Gen 24:10–28; 28:6–19; 27:30–40.

[21] W. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts* (Leiden, 1968), contains Gen 1:1–19; 15:1–20; 19:1–14; 28:10–22; 32 12(13)–21(22); 32:24(25)–32(33); 49:1–7, 8–18, 19–28.

[22] A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla. A Facsimile Edition of a Midyat* MS *discovered in 1964* (CSCO 369, Syr. 45; Louvain, 1975). However, the manuscript lacks most of Genesis up to Gen 32:9.

[23] Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*.

An edition of the entire Pentateuch manuscript itself is also a desideratum. In the meantime, however, the present paper offers a preliminary reassessment of Jacob's version and his other citations of Genesis, in the hope that someone may be encouraged to undertake the full project!

I have chosen three passages from Jacob's version of Genesis (JGen) for comparison with the Peshitta and Septuagint (and the Syro-Hexapla where extant), and with Jacob's treatment of the same passages in his other works.

Example A. Gen 11:27–32: JGen (folio 23 col. b–24 col. a) Compared with Jacob's 20th Scholion and Jacob's Letter XIII[24]

27 ܘܐܠܝܢ ܗܢ ܬܘܠܕܬ ܬܪܚ ܬܪܚ ܐܘܠܕ ܐܒܪܡ ܘܢܚܘܪ ܘܗܪܢ. ܗܪܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܘܛ.
28 ܘܡܬ ܗܪܢ ܩܕܡ ܬܪܚ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܒܐܪ ܟܣܕܝܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܝܠܕܘܬܗ.
29 ܘܐܒܪܡ ܘܢܚܘܪ ܢܣܒܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܫܝܢ. ܫܡ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܕܐܒܪܡ ܣܪܝ, ܘܫܡ ܐܢܬܬ ܢܚܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܬ ܗܪܢ ܐܒܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܒܘ ܕܝܣܟܐ.
30 ܘܣܪܝ ܗܘܬ ܥܩܪܐ ܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ.
31 ܘܢܦܩ ܬܪܚ ܐܒܪܡ ܒܪܗ ܘܠܘܛ ܒܪ ܗܪܢ ܒܪ ܒܪܗ ܘܣܪܝ ܟܠܬܗ ܐܢܬܬ ܐܒܪܡ ܒܪܗ ܘܐܬܘ ܡܢ ܐܘܪ ܟܣܕܝܐ ܠܡܐܙܠ ܠܐܪܥ ܟܢܥܢ. ܘܐܬܐ ܥܕ ܚܪܢ ܘܝܬܒ ܬܡ.
32 ܘܗܘܘ ܝܘܡܝ ܬܪܚ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܡܐܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܡܬ ܬܪܚ ܒܚܪܢ.

V. 28: ܩܕܡ = LXX ἐνώπιον: mg. ܒܚܝܐ: = Peshitta
ܒܐܪܥܐ : mg. ܒܐܬܪܐ = LXX ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ.
V. 31: ܡܢ : mg. ܒܐܬܪ = LXX ἐκ τῆς χώρας

(27) And these are the generations of Terach. Terach begot Abram, Nachor and Haran. Haran begot Lot. (28) Haran died before (mg. in the lifetime of) Terach his father, in the land in which he was born, in Ur (mg. in the region) of the Chaldees. (29) Abram and Nachor took wives for themselves. The name of Abraham's wife was Sarai, and the name of Nachor's wife was Melka, daughter of Haran the father of Melka and father of Iska. (30) Sarai was barren, and she had no children.

(31) Terach led Abram his son and Lot his grandson and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abraham's wife. He took them out of Ur (mg. in the region) of the Chaldees, to go to the land of Canaan. He came to Harran and he dwelt there. (32) Terach's days in Harran were 205 years, and Terach died in Harran.

[24] The Syro-Hexapla is not extant for this passage.

The first occurrence of ܫܢܝܢ in v. 31 is drawn from the Greek tradition. In Jacob's Letter XIII he says rather ambiguously that Terach died in Harran 'after fourteen years'. Perhaps he means by this that Terach died fourteen years after Nachor's arrival, which he places after that of the rest of the family, no doubt because Nachor is not mentioned with the others in v. 31.[25] The only other agreement in the main text of JGen with Septuagint against the Peshitta is in v. 31, where Jacob prefers ἐξήγαγεν αὐτούς 'he took them out' to the Peshitta's less clear ܐܙܠܘ ܥܡܗܘܢ, 'they went out with them'.

In the 20th Scholion[26] the text of verses 27–31a is very close to that of Jacob's own version of Genesis. Differences involve only minor changes such as the spelling of the names (JGen uses Alaph as a mater lectionis), the use or absence of the demonstrative particle (often used by Jacob to reflect Greek pronouns, especially in relative clauses) in v. 29, the replacement of the Peshitta's construct formation with the genitive plus ܕ twice in v. 29, the auxiliary verbs in v. 30.

However, the divergences in the last one and a half verses are more significant. In the text of the Scholion, v. 31a has ܐܙܠܘ ܥܡܗܘܢ 'he went out with them', ܐܬܐ 'he came', and ܐܬܝܫܒ 'he settled', which all agree with the Peshitta. In contrast, the paraphrastic version of verses 31–32 in Letter XIII has ܐܬܐ and ܐܙܠ with JGen, against the Scholion and the Peshitta.[27] There appear to be no compelling exegetical reasons for any of the differences.

The example just given may not be representative of the wider situation in JGen, since the Greek tradition differs very little from the Peshitta in this passage and therefore there would be little incentive for Jacob to make major changes to his base text. But it is also clear that there is some variation from the text of his own version in his scholia and his letters. This may of course be because he had not completed the version at the time of writing them. (Jacob's citations in his Hexaemeron may provide a better comparison because of the work's late date.)

Of course it is not inconceivable that scribal transmission in the text of the Scholion may have brought it closer to the Peshitta text and away

[25] Nau, 'Traduction', 204; W. Wright, 'Two Epistles of Mar Jacob, Bishop of Edessa', *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record* 10 (1867), 430–460, p. ه, line 6.

[26] G. Phillips, *Scholia on Passages of the Old Testament by Mar Jacob Bishop of Edessa* (London, 1864), 3/ح.

[27] Wright, 'Two Epistles', lines 5–6.

from that of JGen. However, this is not very likely since the manuscripts concerned date only from the ninth century.[28]

Example B. Gen 15.1–4: JGen (folio 28, col. b) Compared with Jacob's 23rd Scholion and the Syro-Hexapla[29]

1 ܗܘ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܥܠ ܐܒܪܡ ܒܚܙܘܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠ ܐܒܪܡ ܐܢܐ ܐܦܪܩ ܠܟ ܐܓܪܟ ܣܓܝ ܫܓܝܐ ܠܚܕ.

2 ܘܐܡܪ ܐܒܪܡ ܡܪܝ ܡܐ ܬܬܠ ܠܝ ܘܐܢܐ ܗܠܟ ܙܟܝ ܘܒܪ ܡܫܩ ܕܝܠܝ ܗܘ ܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܕܕܡܣܩܘܣ ܗܢ ܒܪ ܒܝܬܝ ܗܘ ܝܪܬ ܠܝ.

3 ܘܐܡܪ ܐܒܪܡ ܗܐ ܠܝ ܠܐ ܝܗܒܬ ܠܝ ܙܪܥ ܘܗܐ ܒܪ ܒܝܬܝ ܗܘ ܝܪܬ ܠܝ.

4 ܘܗܐ ܩܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܠܡܐ ܬܝܪܬ ܗܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܡܥܝܟ ܗܘ ܝܪܬ ܠܟ.

V. 3: ܗܟ = Syh: mg. ܗܦ = Peshitta.

(1) After these things the word of the Lord came to Abram in a vision, and he said to him, 'Do not be afraid, Abram. I myself will help you. Your reward will be very great.' (2) Abram said, 'Lord God, what will you give me, since I go without children? The son of Maseq the woman born of my household, this Eliezer the Damascene, he is my heir.' (3) And Abram said, 'Because you have not given me offspring (mg. a son), see, one born of my household will inherit from me.' (4) Immediately the voice of God came to him, saying, 'This man will not inherit from you. Rather, your son, the one who comes from your loins, he will inherit from you.'

In this passage the differences from the Peshitta involve phrases as well as minor stylistic alterations. In v. 1, as often in Jacob's version, ܗܘ ܕܡܠܬܐ has been replaced by ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܬܐ, and ܠ ܐ by ܥܠ ܐ, as in the Syro-Hexapla.[30] The Peshitta reads, 'Your reward is very great', against JGen and the Syro-Hexapla. In v. 2 Jacob's phrase 'The son of Maseq the woman born of my household, this . . .' follows the Septuagint (but is less close to the Syro-Hexapla) and has been inserted into the base text of the Peshitta. V. 3 in JGen follows the Greek rather than the wording of the Peshitta. The first part of v. 4 is from the Septuagint (rather than the Syro-Hexapla), and the rest is closest to the Peshitta.

In contrast, the text of Jacob's 23rd Scholion is almost entirely according to the Peshitta. The sole exception is the use of ܗܟ for

[28] W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* 2 (London 1871), 591 (dccvi), and 996 (dccclxi).

[29] See Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*, 45–49.

[30] See Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*, 45.

ܡܫܝܚܐ in v. 1. Later in the same Scholion Jacob says that the name of Eliezer's mother is given in the Septuagint which is a translation of 'the books of the Hebrews',[31] and gives the following quotation: ܘܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܡܫܩ ܐܡܗ ܕܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܗܘ ܕܒܣܦܪ ܕܐܝܓܪ ܐܡ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܗܘ.[32] This agrees with neither JGen nor the Syro-Hexapla and Septuagint. However, as in JGen it usefully yields the name of Eliezer's mother as Maseq. The main point of the 23rd Scholion is to demonstrate that Eliezer cannot be identified with Ishmael since Maseq is not Hagar, and the text of JGen is certainly in harmony with this view, even though the actual wording differs.

Example C. Gen 49.3–27: JGen (folio 99 col. a–100 col. b) Compared with Septuagint and Syro-Hexapla[33] *(and Jacob's Hexaemeron)*[34]

3 ܐܘܒܝ ܚܢܟ, ܫܡܥ. ܫܠ ܘܝܬܝ ܪܫܝܬ ܚܝܠܝ. ܝܬܪ ܢܫܐ ܘܝܬܝ ܒܚܠܦ: ܝܬܪ ܩܕܝܫ ܒܚܝܠ.

4 ܒܪܝܫܝܬ. ܫܚܝܩ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܚܢ ܫܒܠ ܚܙܐ. ܫܒܠ ܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܡ ܫܒܠ ܒܚܠ. ܫܒܠ ܠܫܥܡ, ܘ, ܫܒܠ ܚܠܫ ✣

5 ܫܡܥ ܡܠ, ܫܡ ܚܒܠ ܒܚܠ: ܫܡ, ܡܠ ܚܫܡ ܒ ܩܝܣܪ.

6 ܠܫܥ ܒܪܝܫ ܢܒܝ ܕܐ ܚܠ ܕ ܩܝܣܪ ܕ ܩܝܣܪ ܢܒ ܫܒ ܫܥܪ, ܒܪ ܕ ܩܝܣܪ ܕ ܩܝܣܪ ܕ ܩܝܣ

= P 18
19
= P 20
= P 21
22
23
24
25
26
27

V. 5: ܫܛܦ: mg. ܪܓܙܐ 'anger'= Peshitta.
V. 9: ܩܛܠܬܐ: mg. ܩܛܠܐ 'slaughter' = Peshitta.
V. 10: ܕܠ ܕܫܒܥ: mg. ,ܕ ܫܠܐ 'whose it is' = Peshitta.
V. 21: mg. .ܢܦܬܠܝ ܫܠܚܐ ܕܫܡܐ ܟܝܪܐ ܕܢܬ ܠܝܗ 'Naphtali is a vine let loose, that gives fine things with its fruit' = Septuagint στέλεχος ἀνειμένον ἐπιδιδοὺς ἐν τῷ γενήματι κάλλους[36]).
V. 22: mg. to 1st ܪܥܝܐ: ? ܠ ܒܥܝܐ = ?

In the following translation for simplicity's sake I have indicated affinities with Septuagint against the Peshitta by the use of *italics*. Where Jacob's version of Genesis uses identical wording to the Syro-Hexapla (in contrast to that of the Peshitta), this is indicated by the use of *letter-spaced italics*. Small capitals show where Jacob's source is unknown: he may be using his own independent interpretation at such points. Plain text can be assumed to be identical to or virtually the same as the Peshitta text.

3 Ruben (= ρουβην), you are my first-born, my strength and head of my sons. *Hard to bear, hard, headstrong*,
4 you went astray like water, you will not remain. You went up to your father's bed, truly you *sullied* (= ἐμίανας) my couch ON WHICH you went up.

[35] ܘܠ ׳ ܐܒ: these two words are reversed in the manuscript, but marked as needing to be swapped over by three dots on top of each.

[36] See Wevers, *Genesis*, ad loc., for the widespread variant + αὐτοῦ (not shared by the Syro-Hexapla).

5 Simeon and Levi are brothers. They *performed iniquity* (= ἀδικίαν) of their own *will* (= αἱρέσεως).
6 My soul did not enter their *mind* (= βουλήν?), my MIND DOES NOT DESCEND into their *assembly* (= συστάσει). Because in their anger they killed men, and in their wrath they tore down a city wall.
7 Cursed is their anger because it is *headstrong*, and their wrath because it is harsh. I will divide them in Jacob and scatter them in Israel.
8 Judah, your brothers will praise you. Your hand is on the neck of your enemies. Your father's children will bow down to you.
9 A lion's cub is Judah. From *a shoot*, my son, you went up, kneeling and lying down like a lion, and like a lion's cub. Who will raise him up?
10 A HEAD (= ἄρχων?) will not depart from Judah nor a *leader* from between *his thighs*, until there comes *he for whom it is put by* (= ᾧ ἀποκεῖται),[37] and *he is* (= αὐτός) *the expectation of* the nations.
11 He will tie his colt to the vine, and to the stem the foal of his donkey. He will *wash* in wine his clothing and in the blood of grapes his covering.
12 His eyes glow *more than* wine (= ὑπέρ)[38] and his teeth *more than* (= ἤ) milk.
13 Zebulun will dwell by the shores of the SEA, and he is the *harbour* of ships. *He will extend* as far as Sidon.
14 Issachar is a mighty man who *desired good, and rests between lots* (= τὸ καλὸν ἐπεθύμησεν ἀναπαυόμενος ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν κλήρων).
15 He saw that his abode was fair and his land was good and *fertile*. He bent his shoulder *to toil* and he became a *farming man*.
16 Dan will judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel.
17 Dan will be a snake by the road and a basilisk that *lies* (= ἐγκαθήμενος) by the path, biting the horse on its heel and throwing its rider backwards.
18 For your salvation I hope, O Lord!
19 Gad, *a troop shall plunder him, and he shall plunder from it at the end* (= αὐτὸς δὲ πειρατεύσει αὐτῶν κατὰ πόδας).
20 Asher's land is good, and he will give provisions to kings.
21 Naphtali is a swift ambassador, giving a fine speech.

[37] See Wevers, *Genesis*, ad loc., for this popular variant.
[38] See Wevers, *Genesis*, for this variant, found in Vaticanus. The small adjustments in this verse make it clear that a comparison is involved. The Peshitta and the main Septuagint reading ἀπό give a more ambiguous sense.

22 The son of *my* (= μου)[39] increase is Joseph, the son of *my* (= μου)[40] increase. *Enviable is my son, the youngest, who returned to me* (= νεώτατος πρὸς με ἀνέστρεψεν?),[41]
23 *whom they were reviling when they conspired in their thoughts* (= εἰς ὃν διαβουλευόμενοι ἐλοιδόρουν). *The lords of arrows* looked at him askance,
24 *and their bows were broken* (= καὶ συνετρίβη ... τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν) with power, and the sinews of their arms were loosened (= καὶ ἐξελύθη τὰ νεῦρα βραχιόνων χειρῶν αὐτῶν), by the hands of *the strong one* of Jacob and by *the one who strengthens* (cf. ὁ κατισχύσας) Israel,
25 *by* the God of your father. *And* El Shaddai *helped you*, he is my God. *He blessed you* with the blessing of the sky above, and the blessing *of the earth in which there is every*THING beneath. *Because of* the blessing of breasts and wombs,
26 BECAUSE OF the blessing of your father *and your mother*, WHICH IS *stronger than* (= ὑπερίσχυσεν ἐπ᾽) the blessings *of the surrounding mountains*, *than the blessings* (= ἐπ᾽ εὐλογίαις) of the eternal hills. They will be on Joseph's head and on the head of his brothers, *whose head he was.*[42]
27 Benjamin is a rapacious wolf. In the morning he will eat the booty and in the evening he will divide *the provisions* (= τροφήν), FROM THAT WHICH HE SEIZED.

Jacob's citation of Gen 49:10 in his Hexaemeron (fol. 301) is close to JGen in some respects. However, JHex has ܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܥܡܐ (= P) instead of ܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܡܠܟܐ in JGen, and ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܦܢܐ ܘܡܚܘܩܩܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܦܢܐ ܘܣܦܪܐ instead of ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܚܘܩܩܐ ܘܣܦܪܐ in JGen. It is as if Jacob were re-translating the verse from the Greek with exegetical embellishments for the Hexaemeron, rather than citing his own version (or that of the Syro-Hexapla) verbatim.

In contrast to the situation in examples A and B, which were both prose passages, Jacob's text of Genesis 49 demonstrates both a great deal of difference from the Peshitta in a number of verses, and also the clear influence of the Greek tradition. But it is striking how little Jacob uses the wording of the Syro-Hexapla. Even where his text is the same as that of the Syro-Hexapla, it may in some cases be due to

[39] See Wevers, *Genesis*, ad loc., for this addition in some MSS of the *s* group.
[40] See Wevers, *Genesis*, ad loc., for this addition in Vaticanus and the *b* group.
[41] The verb in JGen is marked as 3rd m. sg. perfect, not the imperative of Septuagint and Syh. There is no Greek variant recorded that has this form of the verb.
[42] However, Syh has ܠܥܡ for JGen ܠܫܡ.

coincidence. It is very likely that on the whole he preferred to make his own more natural rendering of the Septuagint. The Peshitta text of Genesis 49 is often hard to comprehend and this may explain at least some of Jacob's substitutions. It may also be the case that Jacob wished to produce a text that was compatible with material from certain Greek commentaries on Genesis: this is a subject that would merit separate examination.

Thus the situation may easily differ from one part of Jacob's version of Genesis to another. Within Jacob's version of Samuel, as Saley points out, the distribution of affinities with the Syro-Hexapla and Septuagint in Jacob's revision of 1 Kgs 1:1–49a varies from that in other passages.[43]

In his article on the Hexaemeron, Martin rejects the term used of Jacob's version, of 'correcting' the text (ܬܩܢ):[44] 'ce n'est pas, en effet, *correction* qu'on devrait l'appeler, c'est *corruption*, car l'unique résultat de cette combinaison de textes est de former une oeuvre hybride, quie n'est ni la *Péchito*, ni les *Septante*, mais un mélange des deux. Par suite, la purété de la *Péchito* et celle des *Septante* s'évanouissent du même coup.'[45] Martin compares the phenomenon to work of Theodulphus in the Latin church a century later, in combining Jerome's Vulgate with Septuagint readings. But in contrast to the limited success enjoyed by Jacob's version (which we can safely assume from the single, early, copies that remain of it coupled with its lack of influence on subsequent textual tradition), this Latin version spread throughout the West.

However, it may be that by using the term 'correction' Jacob indicates that he saw himself as following in the footsteps of Origen, who had attempted to 'heal'[46] the differences between the Septuagint manuscripts circulating in the churches by using the Greek minor versions and the Hebrew text of the third century, in order to produce a standardized Greek version. In contrast, Jacob's concern would have been less focused on the differences between Greek manuscripts, and more on the gap between the Peshitta and Septuagint traditions in many places in the Old Testament. This gap was certainly not bridged by the Syro-Hexapla, since the latter was merely Origen's Hexaplaric text in Syriac garb and wholly ignored the Peshitta tradition of the Syrian Orthodox Church.

[43] Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 121.

[44] The verb ܬܩܢ is used in the colophon at the end of the manuscript of Jacob's version of Samuel (Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel*, ix, 90).

[45] Martin, 'L'Hexaméron', 181.

[46] Ἰασάσθαι, in *Commentary on Matthew* 15:14.

This may explain why Jacob relies on the Syro-Hexapla so little for his renderings of the Greek.[47]

Ultimately, Jacob was not really a text critic in the modern sense of trying to restore a more original text of Scripture.[48] Instead he was an exegete who valued both the Greek and Syriac traditions of scripture. He may have supposed that the differences between them had arisen providentially, and that one tradition could be used to explain obscurities in the text of the other. His notion of 'correction' would thus be to amplify the Peshitta text with secondary readings from the Greek, or to replace difficult sections in it with less ambiguous phrasing from the Septuagint. Where the Peshitta gave clear sense and sound theology, it could be retained. Perhaps this is all the 'method' we are likely to find in Jacob: as Martin says, 'Jacques d'Édesse a donc suivi une voie particulière, personnelle à lui'.[49] Also, it may well prove impossible to reconstruct the Syro-Hexapla with the use of Jacob's version of the Old Testament, unless the situation in the other surviving books of his revision is very different. Instead, a new line of enquiry may be to identify the types of Greek manuscript that were available to him, on the basis of the types of reading his text reflects.

[47] For a similar situation in Jacob's version of Samuel, see Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 118–122, and Salvesen, *Books of Samuel*, xi and n. 9.

[48] In addition, he certainly did not know more than a smattering of Hebrew, if any at all (see Salvesen, 'Did Jacob of Edessa know Hebrew?', 457–67) and he probably lacked Origen's financial backing and redoubtable organizational skills.

[49] Martin, 'L'Hexaméron', 186.

THE COMPUTER AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH: ARE THERE PERSPECTIVES BEYOND THE IMITATION OF CLASSICAL INSTRUMENTS?

Eep Talstra & Janet Dyk

1. *Linguistic Analysis beyond Word Level*

How can computers be employed for the literary analysis of the Hebrew Bible? This question was frequently posed during the meetings of the CALAP research project.[1] Does the computer merely repeat what has been done before—though somewhat quicker—or can it be implemented to execute procedures and acquire insights which were not possible heretofore?

In answer to the first question another can be posed: what does one wish the procedures of textual analysis to be able to accomplish? How does one define the research questions and the instruments needed? Though it is true that computers are able to handle linguistic and textual data, in order to answer questions of historical or of textual origin it is necessary to indicate precisely what kind of linguistic analysis or literary comparison of texts the computer should be able to perform if it is to be of assistance in formulating or verifying a hypothesis concerning the historical background of a particular composition.

Classical philology has long concentrated on designing specialized research instruments: concordances, dictionaries, synopses, grammatical categorization. It is in this area of the design of instruments that the classical approach and modern computer programming first met. The categorizing and sorting of data was the first contribution to biblical studies made possible by the main frame computers of the 1960s and 1970s.[2] The real challenge, however, lay further afield. Statistics and

[1] This joint research project of the Peshitta Institute Leiden (PIL) and the Werkgroep Informatica Vrije Universiteit (WIVU) was supervised by the one we are honouring in this volume and by Eep Talstra. For some of the issues discussed, cf. K.D. Jenner, W.Th. van Peursen, and E. Talstra, 'CALAP: An Interdisciplinary Debate between Textual Criticism, Textual History, and Computer-Assisted Linguistic Analysis', in P.S.F. van Keulen and W.Th. van Peursen (eds.), *Corpus Linguistics and Textual History. A Computer-Assisted Interdisciplinary Approach to the Peshitta* (forthcoming in the series SSN).

[2] See the work of the pioneers in this area: J.A. Baird, *A Critical Concordance to the Synoptic Gospels* (The Computer Bible 1; Missoula, Montana, 1971) (sorting

sorted data may be useful for linguistic studies, but what do they contribute to the field of literary, historical and compositional analysis?

It is not surprising that researchers of ancient texts have started to look at computers from a different perspective. If computer technology is restricted in its ability to help us with literary or discourse analysis proper, then perhaps it could assist in collecting and retrieving the texts. Thus, from the period of the introduction of Internet and the Web one can observe a clear shift from the use of computers as instruments of linguistic analysis to instruments for easy access to all kinds of collections of texts. In the process of the past twenty years, where the literary analyst once had the lead in using computers as analytical instruments in experimental research, more recently the librarian has taken over.[3] Computers have come to be viewed as instruments for data retrieval, useful in making available electronic versions of any textual corpus.

The real challenge remains: can computer programming make a methodological contribution on the level of textual analysis? The early computer concordances were but poor imitations of the classical instruments. With the advances in technology, again the question arises as to whether it would now be possible to let computerized techniques and classical philology interact at the level of methodology. This goal requires a continued debate on exegetical methods, for it necessitates further research into the interaction of linguistic system and literary or rhetorical design. The order of methods of textual analysis is of essential importance. How does one move from the analysis of the linguistic system to the analysis of the literary composition of a text? Which elements present in a text are due to the requirements of grammar and lexicon, and which elements have been used deliberately for rhetorical and pragmatic effects? It is always difficult to establish the difference between linguistic and literary features in ancient texts, but the use of

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of words); G.E. Weil and F. Chénique, 'Prolegomènes a l'utilisation de méthodes de statistique linguistique pour l'étude historique et philologique de la bible hébraique et de ses paraphrases', *VT* 14 (1964), 341–366 (sorting of patterns of accents in the Massoretic Text). See also the first overviews of the new discipline of Bible and computing: W.T. Claassen, 'ComputerAssisted Methods and the Text and Language of the Old Testament. An Overview', in *Text and Context. Old Testament and Semitic Studies for F.C. Fensham* (JSOT.S 48; Sheffield, 1988), 283–299; J.J. Hughes, *Bits, Bytes and Biblical Studies. A Resource Guide for the Use of Computers in Biblical and Classical Studies* (Grand Rapids, 1987).

[3] Cf. E. Talstra, 'Signs, Design and Signification: The Example of I Kings 21', in J.A. Cook (ed.), *Bible and Computer. The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference, 17–21 July, 2000* (Leiden, 2002), 147–166.

computerized tools could help us to develop and execute experiments in the area of instruments and hypothesis.

In this contribution we want to address the issue of the interaction of instruments, methods and experiments by considering three topics:

1. The interaction of instrument and method. Classical, word-based instruments, such as concordances and dictionaries, match the classical word-oriented reading of biblical texts.
2. The data structures needed to design flexible instruments that enable a researcher to introduce a combination of experiment and consistency into the art of textual research.
3. Experiments with an integrated study of linguistic analysis and literary design.

2. *Word-Oriented Methods and Beyond*

The classical instrument of literary research is the concordance which provides the researcher with a general overview of words used in a particular corpus. The earliest experiments in the area of Bible and computer involved the production of concordances, as the tasks of sorting and counting were typically suited to a computer. The use of concordances, however, always raises two questions. One is the question of context: how does one define the grammatical context of the lexemes to be presented in the concordance? Usually computer-generated concordances just present a number of words left and right to the lexeme wanted, but this can hardly be called a meaningful context.[4] In this respect, a classical concordance such as that of Mandelkern supersedes such computer products.[5] The other question concerns the value of the data presented. A classical concordance helps locate the repetition of particular lexemes in a textual composition, but the implications of such repetitions are not thereby indicated. Is every repetition of a word in a text intentional as part of the literary design, or is it accidental, being merely the by-product of the various linguistic constructions used?

When answering such questions, it does not matter whether one's concordance has been produced by hand or by a computer. The relevant question does not concern the computer-generated imitation of classical

[4] Linguistic experiments in: E. Talstra, 'Context and Part of Speech. Concordance Production from a Text-Grammatical Database', *Hebrew Computational Linguistics* 24 (1986), v–xviii.

[5] S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti: concordantiae hebraicae atque chaldaicae* (Leipzig, 1896).

research instruments, but rather the challenge of defining what type of linguistic analysis is needed so that the use of a computer for further research and experiment on the level of syntax and discourse becomes a real option. Can one find ways to have a concordance program define syntactically correct contexts? Is it possible to develop a concordance program which can indicate what types of constituents are usually connected to a particular verb in a particular case frame?

The implication is clearly that computerized analysis can not be expected to produce quick and easy answers to rather abstract questions, such as concerning the significance of particular words, or the repetition of elements within a literary structure. Initially, it is necessary to study how existing solutions treat language data. Awareness must be developed as to what information is actually needed to form a hypothesis about which language phenomena in a text belong to the linguistic system and which to the literary design.

As an example we take Chapter 18 of the book of Jeremiah where the verb עשה, 'to make; to act', occurs rather frequently. The chapter compares the work of the potter to the role of God in relation to Israel and the nations. The text says that just as the potter can decide to remake a vessel when an intial attempt has failed, likewise God can decide to remake a nation. Clearly, the occurrences of the verb עשה play a role in the comparison expressed. Does the use of this rather common verb contribute to the literary structure and effect of Jeremiah 18? If so, should one try to render the verb consistently by repeating the same word in a translation? This literary approach can be observed in Buber's translation of Jeremiah 18: one meaning of the verb עשה is assumed in verse 3–8 ('to make'), another one in verse 10–23 ('to act'):

> Verse 3 *machte*; 4 *er machte*; *machte er*; 4 *zu machen*; 6 *zu machen*; 8 *zu machen*
> Verse 10 *tut es*; 12 *tun wollen wir*; 13 *hat getan*; 23 *tus* (*tue es*) *an ihnen*

The other end of the spectrum can be seen in the NRSV where the verb is rendered with such variation that one wonders whether there is any pattern at all:

> Verse 3: *was working*; 4; *was making a vessel*, *(re)worked it*; 4 *do with you*; 8 *bring on it*; 10 *it does evil*; 12 *will act*; 13 *has done*; 23 *deal with them.*

In this approach the verb עשה is taken to be a common, pliable verb, without any particular contribution to the literary composition.

The classical word-oriented approach raises the question whether all occurrences of a particular lexeme are literarily motivated. Buber, probably would have answered affirmatively, even in the case of the frequently occurring verb עשה. Clearly the translators of the NRSV would respond negatively: the repetition of the verb in this text is merely a

matter of the author's freedom and the reader's interpretation. Can one verify or falsify one of these positions? Is there some middle ground between these two extremes?

From experience in the field of Bible translation, a third option can be suggested, namely, to abandon the strictly word-level approach and concentrate on the verbs and their satellites. The assumption then is that not all repetitions of a verb are equal. It is possible that the variation in the valency pattern[6] actually neutralizes the literary effect of the repetition of the verb itself. On the other hand, cases of identical valency patterns may strengthen the literary effect. To test this hypothesis, one can make use of existing computerized tools for lexical searching. Such instruments are widely used to aid in the search for words and combinations of words. Our recently published computer program for lexical and grammatical searching, SESB,[7] is one such instrument. It allows the researcher to be precise in establishing the context within which the search is to be executed, for example, not just the verb עשה with a particular complement, such as an object phrase in its context, but, more precisely, within the boundaries of a syntactic clause. In our work on Hebrew in preparing the data for SESB, we have found that from the perspective of the user, the searching and retrieving of verbs and complements is just the beginning. Being able to search for particular phenomena in a textual corpus is not sufficient if one needs systematic information about how linguistic patterns contribute to textual composition. Thus programs are being developed to create a more sophisticated lexicon or concordance, which lists all occurring patterns of a verb in combination with the satellites present. This is possible because the data structures we have prepared contain not only word and phrase level information, but also the segmentation of the Hebrew text into clauses, and the parsing of constituents in terms of predicate, subject, object, and various types of complements and adjuncts.[8]

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[6] Cf. M. Malessa, *Untersuchungen zur verbalen Valenz im biblischen Hebräisch* (PhD diss. Leiden University, 2003); R.H. Oosting, 'Returning (to) Zion: Isaiah 52:8 in Light of Verbal Valency Patterns', in F. Postma, et al. (eds.), *The New Things. Festschrift H. Leene* (ACEBT.S 3; Maastricht, 2002), 159–166; J.W. Dyk, 'Verbanning of vergeving? Hosea 1:6 in het licht van verbale valentie patronen', in J.W. Dyk, et al. (eds.), *Hosea* (ACEBT 17; Maastricht, 1999), 61–73.

[7] Chr. Hardmeier, E. Talstra, and B. Salzmann, *SESB: Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible* (Stuttgart–Haarlem, 2004).

[8] E. Talstra, 'Text Segmentation and Linguistic Levels: Preparing Data for SESB', in *Handbook SESB* (*Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible*) (Stuttgart–Haarlem, 2004), 23–26; cf. also the extended version of the article in the electronic library of SESB.

We have experimented with a concordance program which lists verbs and sorts them according to the accompanying verbal complements [<Co>] occurring within clause boundaries. This produces the following overview of the verb עשה in Jeremiah 18. The cases of the verb are presented as produced by the program, in transliteration and within the context of simple clauses, that is, clauses with at most one predication:[9]

```
<FH qal {– }
    JER 18,04 [L–<FWT <Pr>]
    JER 18,04 [>CR <Re>] [HW> <Su>] [<FH <PC>] [B––XMR <Aj>]
    JER 18,10 [W–<Cj>] [<FH <Pr>]
    3

<FH qal {ObNP }
    JER 18,13 [C<RRT <Ob>] [<FTH <Pr>] [M>D <Mo>] [BTWLT JFR>L <Su>]
    JER 18,12 [W–<Cj>] [>JC <Aj>] [CRRWT LBW H–R< <Ob>] [N<FH <Pr>]
    JER 18,03 [W–<Cj>] [HN–<Ij>] [HW <Su>] [<FH <PC>] [ML>KH <Ob>] [<L H–>BNJM <Aj>]
    3

<FH qal {L   }
    JER 18,08 [L–<FWT <Pr>] [LW <Co>]
    JER 18,06 [L–<FWT <Pr>] [LKM <Co>]
    2

<FH qal {B   }
    JER 18,23 [B–<T >PK <Ti>] [<FH <Pr>] [BHM <Co>]
    1

<FH qal {ObNP } {Obsf }
    JER 18,04 [W–<Cj>] [J<FHW <PO>] [KLJ >XR <Ob>]
    1
```

The result is what we call a concordance of type 1, i.e., an inventory of valency patterns found in simple clauses. In the case of the verb עשה 'to make; to act' one can indeed observe a variation of valency patterns being used in Jeremiah 18, for example, עשה without verbal complement, עשה with a single object; with two objects (Jer 18:4); with a preposition phrase ל, 'to', in Jer 18:6, 8, or with ב, 'against', in Jer 18:23. Based on this sorting of the data one could make an initial attempt at a more consistent type of interpretation of the verb in Jeremiah 18. Can one assign basically one interpretation to one particular pattern? For example עשה + complement ב: 'act with' (verse 23), or עשה + object + object: 'produce x from y' (verse 4)? These observations alone both

[9] Transliteration of the Hebrew alphabet within electronic database: >BGDHWZXV JKLMNS<PYQRFCT. Abbreviations of syntactic functions: <Aj> = Adjunct; <Cj> = Conjunction; <Co> = Complement; <Ij> = Interjection; <Mo> = Modifier; <Ng> = Negation; <Ob> = Object; <PC> = Predicate Complement; <PO> = verbal Predicate + pronominal object suffix; <Pr> = verbal Predicate; <Ps> = verbal Predicate + pronominal subject suffix; <Qu> = Question marker; <Re> = Relative Pronoun; <Su> = Subject; <Ti> = Time. Abbreviations of the syntactic patterns: B = prepositional phrase beginning with ב; L = prepositional phrase beginning with ל; ObNP = Noun Phrase as Object; Obsf = object suffix (attached to the verbal predicate); – = no complement present.

challenge the purely rhetorical literary repetition of a single translation of the verb, as seems to be assumed by Buber, and restrict the unbounded stylistic freedom of variation observable in the NRSV.

Technically one can advance from *searching* a database for all cases of one particular pattern of verbal valency, to *producing* dictionaries of all valency patterns present in the text. However, a linguist or an exegete reading Jeremiah 18 will quickly point out those cases where a particular pattern of verbal valency is not present within the domain of a clause, but is present in the broader context of, for example, the main clause together with the attributive clause. In verse 4, the clause

[>CR <Re>] [HW> <Su>] [<FH <PC>] [B--XMR <Aj>]

is listed in the category of עשה without a complement. That is not correct, since the verb in the אשר relative clause takes its object from the preceding main clause, that is, the verb is linked to its object by means of the relative particle, the antecedent of אשר being הכלי, 'the vessel': 'he made *what* with the clay', becomes '*which* he made with clay' by WH–movement.[10] A more advanced concordance program should list attributive clauses together with the antecedent to which they belong in order to provide the user with linguistically correct patterns. Once one begins on this line of research, it may become apparent that in many types of syntactic structures an object or a complement must be assumed on the basis of a reference to an antecedent in another clause, while other verbs are separated from their satellites by intervening dependent clauses.

Since the database of syntactically analysed Hebrew which has been developed as the basis for the SESB data has not only clause boundaries, but also categories for encoding and storing syntactic relationships among the clauses in a text, we were able to experiment with a concordance program that searches for additional grammatically relevant contexts, such as the antecedent to attributive clauses (verse 4), the main predication to which an infinitive clause is related (verses 4, 6, 8), or the main predication to which a clause by itself belongs as an object or a subject (verse 10). The preliminary result, again listing the verb עשה, looks like this:

[10] Question words, which often beginning with 'wh–' in English, occur initially in sentences, rather in the position usually occupied by an internal argument within the sentence. The movement of question words to the beginning of the sentence is called 'wh–movement', cf. L. Haegeman, *Introduction to Government and Binding Theory* (Oxford, 1991), 279, 281, 551, esp. 370–371: 'Relative Clauses and WH–Movement'.

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<FH[     [10 X ]

    Jer18,03 [W <Cj>] [HN–<Ij>] [HW <Su>] [<FH <PC>] [ML>KH <Ob>] [<L H>BNJM <Aj>]

    Jer18,04 [HKLJ <Su>]
                              [>CR <Re>] [HW> <Su>] [<FH <PC>] [BXMR <Aj>]

    Jer18,04 [W <Cj>] [J<FHW <PO>] [KLJ >XR <Ob>]
                              [K>CR <Re>] [JCR <Pr>]

    Jer18,04 [K>CR <Re>] [JCR <Pr>] . . .
                              [L–<FWT <Pr>]

    Jer18,06 [H<Qu>] [KJWYR H–ZH <Aj>] [L> <Ng>] [>WKL <Pr>]
                              [L–<FWT <Pr>] [LKM <Co>]

    Jer18,08 [>CR <Re>] [XCBTJ <Pr>]
                              [L–<FWT <Pr>] [LW <Co>]

    Jer18,10 [W <Cj>] [<FH <Pr>]
                              [H–<Re>] [R<H <PC>]

    Jer18,12 [W <Cj>] [>JC <Aj>] [CRRWT LBW HR< <Ob>] [N<FH <Pr>]

    Jer18,13 [C<RRT <Ob>] [<FTH <Pr>] [M>D <Mo>] [BTWLT JFR>L <Su>]

    Jer18,23 [B<T >PK <Ti>] [<FH <Pr>] [BHM <Co>]
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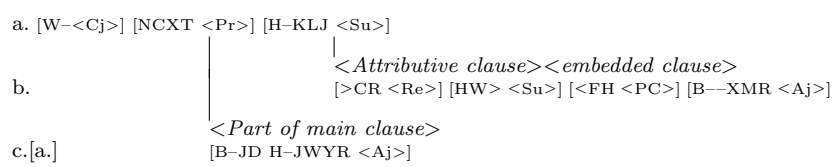
This listing can be called a concordance of type 2, i.e., a classical concordance with grammatically well-defined linguistic contexts, thus offering more linguistic information to the user. The context is more precisely defined than what is normally found in either computerized or non-computerized concordances. The disadvantage, however, is that here we miss the categorization as presented in the type 1 concordance, based on all the complements used with the verb. It is not possible to simply combine the two types of concordances, for the אשר relative clause of verse 4 should move from the category of no complement in concordance type 1 to a category + Noun Phrase complement in concordance type 2. That is complicated, since the surface text of verse 4 does not present a directly encoded object with the verb עשה. The following assignment, therefore, is to develop programs which can locate the noun phrase הכלי, 'the vessel', in verse 4 as the antecedent of the relative particle אשר, so that the verb עשה 'to make; to act' occurring within the אשר relative clause, can be analysed as having an object which in this case is lexically present in the main clause. In this way, the verb can be analysed as having an object and the clause fits into the relevant verbal valency pattern of the verb.

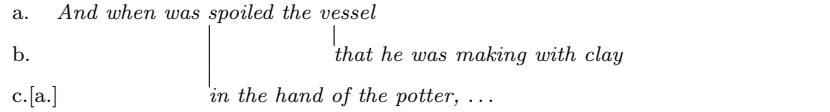
To exemplify how this works, we now present an experiment with automated procedures for the further syntactic annotation of the Hebrew data produced thus far. The analysis has abandoned the levels of the word and of simple clauses and has moved on to take into consideration larger data structures and the interaction between syntax and the lexicon.

3. *Data Structures and Experiments*

Let us continue with the example of the verb עשה, 'to make; to act', in Jer 18:4. The data as produced for SESB and for a number of other applications contain analyses of lexemes, phrases, clauses, and clause connections. The parsing has been done by means of interactive procedures whereby the researcher accepts or corrects machine-made proposals, based on the recognition of linguistic patterns already identified during earlier stages of the research. The result is a continuously expanding list of accepted patterns alongside a growing corpus of annotated texts.[11]

For Jer 18:4 we can start from the following analysis available in the database:





The key to the problem is that the embedded אשר relative clause separates the two parts of the main clause, and that the verb within the אשר relative clause needs to be related to the antecedent of אשר which then provides the actual elements being referred to as the object of the verb עשה, 'to make, to act'.

In order to develop a procedure for identifying the syntactic role of the antecedent הכלי, 'the vessel', in relation to the verb עשה, first we need to build a lexicon of verbs with their valency patterns based on a concordance of type 1. This lexicon, for example, would have

[11] Cf. E. Talstra, 'Text Segmentation'. Earlier stages of the research is presented in E. Talstra, 'A Hierarchy of Clauses in Biblical Hebrew Narrative', in E.J. van Wolde (ed.), *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible. Papers of the Tilburg Conference 1996* (Biblical Interpretation Series 29; Leiden, 1997), 85–118; J.W. Dyk and E. Talstra, 'Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Features in Identifying Subject and Predicate in Nominal Clauses', in C.L. Miller (ed.), *The Verbless Clause in Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Approaches* (Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 1; Winona Lake, 1999), 133–185; E. Talstra and C.J. Sikkel, 'Genese und Kategorienentwicklung der WIVU-Datenbank, oder: ein Versuch, dem Computer Hebräisch beizubringen', in Chr. Hardmeier, et al. (eds.), *Ad Fontes! Quellen erfassen–lesen–deuten. Was ist Computerphilologie?* (Applicatio 15; Amsterdam, 2000), 33–68.

accumulative information about the valency possibilities of the verb עשה: [+Subject + Object1 + Object2 + Complement]. Second, we need to develop grammatical rules that guide a program in searching for verbal complements that may have to be imported from other clauses. Third, this grammar should allow the program to conclude that the antecendent הכלי, 'the vessel', here is related by means of אשר to the position of object within the relative clause.

For verse 4, the lexicon proposes that עשה can take an object. On the basis of grammatical rules the proposal can be made that since the position of the subject is filled and the position of the object is empty, the relative pronoun can be taken to refer to the object, which then has an antecedent in a preceding clause.

Once this analytical result has been added to the database, a further concordance program could be developed to include this new grammatical information in its mechanism for sorting the verbs according to the patterns of verbal complements found in the text.

Comparable experiments can be performed on the level of syntax, for example, to identify the subject of infinitive clauses. In such cases the text usually does not present a direct encoding of the subject, but such can be derived from lexical information on verbal valency patterns and syntactic information on clause connections and the parsing of the constituents present in the clause. Consider, for example, the complex clause construction of Jer 18:19–20.

> Pay attention, YHWH, to me (. . .)
> Remember my standing in front of you in order *to speak in favour of them* in order to remove your anger from them.

Who is the speaker in the expression: 'to speak in favour of them'? A reader of the text will not hesitate in identifying the one 'speaking in favour of them' as Jeremiah. This could give the classical philologist the impression that computerized analysis is just a matter of reconstructing the obvious. However, a concordance user might have a different opinion. When confronted with a long list of cases of the same verb, one would be happy not to have to check them all to find the examples of the particular pattern one is looking for. Furthermore, for text-syntactic analysis it would be extremely helpful to have a linguistic procedure that can produce a general overview of the statements that can be attributed to one certain actor in the text. Trying to produce such overview is actually a contribution to the research into the discourse analysis of biblical texts.

Existing data types produced by sentence level syntactic analysis:

a. [ZKR <Pr>]
|
<*Object clause*>
b. [<MDJ <Ps>] [L–PNJK <Co>]
|
<*Adjunct dependent clause*>
c. [L–DBR <Pr>] [<LJHM <Co>] [VWBH <Ob>]
|
<*Adjunct dependent clause*>
d. [L–HCJB <Pr>] [>T XMTK] <Ob>] [MHM <Co>]

'Remember' + object ['my standing': infinitive + pronominal subject suffix]
'To stand' + . . . + preposition ל 'to' + infinitive ['in order to speak']
'To speak' + . . . + preposition על 'about' + infinitive ['in order to remove']
'To remove' + . . .

The question just formulated above concerns line c: who spoke well (הטוב) about whom? The literary reader of this text will know that it was Jeremiah who spoke well about the people. An exegete would like to know whether there are more cases where a prophet is 'speaking well', including those cases where the subject is not explicitly encoded in the text. The question thus created requires an explanation as to which path we are to follow back from the verbal phrase 'to speak' (לדבר) in order to identify the subject who is speaking. Here the experimentation begins anew.

– Assuming: the clause dependencies presented above and proposed by previous programs are correct.
– Assuming: a clause infinitive + preceding preposition ל, 'to', inherits its subject from the higher level clause in cases where the verb of the lower clause does not require an object, such as the verb 'to stand' in line b.
– If line b had contained a verb requiring an object, for example, 'to order' (instead of 'to stand'), and if the pronominal suffix was the object of the verb 'to order', that is, referring to the one being ordered, then it would be the antecedent of this object, rather than of the subject (as in the case with 'to stand'), which would need to be imported into line c (see also the discussion of Jeremiah 36, below).

Combining these rules means that the subject of the verb in line c is imported from line b, and not from line a (the second person contained in the imperative). Because the valency pattern of the verb 'to stand' in line b does not take an object, the subject of line b can be taken to be the referent of the first person singular pronominal suffix י present within the clause itself.

Proceeding in this manner, the presence of three participants can be derived from the linguistic signs in verse 20:

'you' (2ms) subject (line a)	possessive in complement phrase (lines b,d)
'I' (1s) subject (line b)	
'they' (3mpl)	pronominal in complement phrase (lines c,d)

For further identification of who 'you' and 'they' are, one needs verse 19: YHWH (vocative) and the expression 'my adversaries'. Identifying 'I' as Jeremiah involves a rather complex calculation: one needs to go back to verses 5, 3, and 1. This type of text-grammatical calculation is part of our research in the analysis of biblical Hebrew discourse structure and the development of a syntactically annotated database.

Participants:	'YHWH'	'I'	'they'
Text:			
Pay attention:	2nd sing + vocative	'me' (complement)	
remember:	2nd sing		
my standing:	'your presence' (complement)	'my' (subject suffix)	
to speak:		= (subject)	'about them'
to remove:	'your anger' (object)	= (subject)	'from them'

The search for textual participants not only is important for our understanding of patterns of syntax, but also has an impact on questions of Bible translation. Let us consider the syntax of Jer 36:8:

a. *And Baruch acted,*
b. *according to all that Jeremiah ordered him,*
c. *to read in the scroll . . .*

The Hebrew text has:

a. Baruch עשה, 'to make; to act'
b. כ,'according to', 'all that' X צוה, 'ordered', 'him'
c. ל, 'to', + the infinitive קרא, 'read'

Translations reveal various interpretations of the linguistic patterns present:

NRSV And Baruch did all the prophet Jeremiah ordered him *about reading* from the scroll the words of the LORD in the LORD's house

NBG 1951 (Rephrased into English) And Baruch did all the prophet Jeremiah ordered him *and he read* from the scroll the words of the LORD in the LORD's house

The problem lies in fact in the hierarchy of the clauses. Should one connect clauses c. and b., i.e., connect the verb 'to order' with 'reading', as the NRSV does, or should one connect clauses c. and a., i.e., connect

the verb 'to act' with 'reading', as is implied by the Dutch translation (NBG 1951)?

To answer this question, we need to know more about the valency patterns of the verbs used in line a. and b. Can one assume a pattern עשה, 'to make; to act' + ל, 'to', + infinitive ('Baruch did ... by reading ...')? Or should one assume a pattern צוה, 'to order', + ל, 'to', + infinitive ('he [Jeremiah] had ordered him to read')?

From our current analysis of verbal valency patterns, it has become apparent that when the particle כ, 'according to', occurs with the verb עשה 'to make; to act', it replaces all other elements of the valency pattern. This would mean that a direct dependence of 'to read' on 'to make; to act' would be ruled out. It is, however, possible that the clause 'to read in the scroll' could be an explanation of how Baruch did according to all that Jeremiah told him. Both the AV and the *Statenvertaling* appear to have read the connection between the clauses in this manner:

AV And Baruch the son of Neriah did according to all that Jeremiah the prophet commanded him, reading in the book the words of the LORD in the LORD's house ...

StatV En Baruch, de zoon van Nerija, deed naar alles, wat hem de profeet Jeremía geboden had, lezende in dat boek de woorden des HEEREN, *in* het huis des HEEREN.

The possibility that 'to read' should be connected to the valency pattern of 'to order' remains open as well.

Further delimination of the choice of interpretation is not possible without analysing a considerable number of texts using a similar idiom. This example may demonstrate the iterative nature of this kind of searching. One needs to know more about the syntactic hierarchy to be able to decide about the patterns of verbal valency present in a text, but one also needs to know about usual or exceptional patterns of verbal valency in order to be able to decide what syntactic hierarchy is present in a particular segment of text.

4. *Towards a Proper Interaction of Linguistic Data and Literary Structure*

Our research concentrates on experiments with larger segments of text, whereby we try to define patterns of verbal valency and to develop a grammar for the identification of participants in complex literary compositions. In this we are searching for whether it is possible to identify participants and match various linguistic techniques for referring to the same participant.

Once again, we refer to the text of Jeremiah 18. The chapter begins with a narrator speaking of the דבר, 'word' of YHWH to Jeremiah. The text mentions the content of this דבר in verse 2: 'Go to the house of the potter. There I will make you hear my word.' In verse 3 the narrator continues with: 'I' (not 'he') 'went to house of the potter.' Thus we actually have a second narrator, speaking in the first person, who continues on to verse 5.

What does this mean in terms of participant analysis? Is the first verse of the text, not using 'I', linguistically correct? Is it only a loosely connected superscription attached to the rest of the composition? Does this shift in linguistic features effectively mark something in particular? Should one allow for an additional narrator, for example, the narrator = textual editor in verse 1, to be distinguished from 'I' = Jeremiah as embedded narrator in verse 5? A further complication is found in verse 18, where a narrator states: 'They said: "let us devise plans against Jeremiah".' Is the first narrator = editor here picking up his story line? That may be the case, but how then is it possible that in verse 19 the second narrator = Jeremiah, without further introduction, embarks on a direct speech section: 'Pay attention to me, YHWH'?

Regularly prophetic texts seem to switch easily from one participant to another, with or even without linguistic marking of the participant involved. Is this just the freedom of the author and does it mean the end of syntax as a linguistic discipline independent from literary interpretation?[12] Consider the structure of Jeremiah 18:

Jer 18:1
Narrator The word that came *to Jeremiah* from YHWH
{direct speech section}
Jer 18:3
Narrator (2?) *I* went to the house of the pottery maker
Jer 18:5
Narrator (2?) The word of YHWH came to *me*
{direct speech section}
Jer 18:12
Narrator (1 or 2?) And *they* have said
{direct speech section}
Jer 18:18
Narrator (1?) *They* said:
{direct speech}Let us devise plans against Jeremiah
Jer 18:19
No narrator's introduction (= *Narrator* 2?)
{direct speech}Pay attention to *me*, YHWH

[12] L.J. de Regt, *Participants in Old Testament Texts and the Translator. Reference Devices and their Rhetorical Impact* (SSN 39; Assen, 1999).

This is not an isolated case: similar transitions can be found, for example, in Jer 11:1, 6, 18. In spite of the difficult syntax, Chapter 18 is to be read as one literary section, since in Chapter 19 a similar, though separate story starts. Exegetes, however, tend to interpret the poem of verses 13–17 as interrupting the connection of verses 12 and 18.[13] Can one still rely on linguistic signs to identify a consistent set of participants in this composite text?

Here is the domain where the search for linguistic system and the analysis of a particular literary design confront one another.[14] Should one give up searching for linguistic regularity in such cases? Are these the limits of the contribution of syntax? Is reading here exclusively the domain of the rhetorically well-skilled? Even then, what linguistic markings or lexical repetitions and associations guide interpreters in reading such texts? Can one still find linguistic patterns here? How far can one proceed with a text-syntactic annotation of literary compositions in a text database?

For the moment this remains an area of much experiment and no clear answers. Nonetheless the use of computer-assisted methods in biblical studies is becoming increasingly distinct to the early electronic imitations of classical tools. Questions about existing tools and methods are generated. If one allows for the time needed to continue these experiments, the work on developing further computerized tools will have a great impact on exegetical methodology: the amount and the level of linguistically annotated electronic texts available will be expanded, and the concept of experiment will be introduced into textual analysis, especially in the work on verbal valency, clause hierarchy and participant tracking.

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[13] R.P. Carroll, *Jeremiah* (OTL; London, 1986).

[14] Cf. Chr. Hardmeier, 'Probleme der Textsyntax, der Redeeinbettung und der Abschnitgliederung in Jeremia 32 mit ihren kompositionsgeschichtlichen Konsequenzen', in H. Irsigler, *Syntax und Text. Beiträge zur 22. Internationalen Ökumenischen Hebräisch-Dozenten-Konferenz 1993 in Bamberg* (ATSAT 40; St. Ottilien, 1993), 49–79.

NO EVIL WORD ABOUT HER
THE TWO SYRIAC VERSIONS OF THE BOOK OF JUDITH

Lucas Van Rompay

The book of Judith belongs to those books and parts of books that the Peshitta shares with the Septuagint only and that are not found in the Hebrew Bible. Even if a Hebrew or Aramaic version may once have existed, scholars nowadays agree that Syriac Judith was translated from the Greek and does not shed any light on the Semitic prehistory of the Greek book. Whether the translation and its subsequent insertion into the Syriac canon took place in the earliest period of the Peshitta or rather at a later point in time cannot be ascertained. It is important, however, to note that all complete Syriac Bibles—starting with the Milan and Paris Bibles (7a1 and 8a1)[1]—do contain Judith, along with the other apocryphal, or deuterocanonical, books.

The two abovementioned complete Bibles do not provide the earliest witnesses to Judith. Slightly earlier, in all likelihood, is the sixth-century 'Book of Women', MS British Library, Add. 14,652 (6f1), which brings together in one volume the texts of Ruth, Esther, Susanna, Judith, and Thecla.[2] Other manuscripts of the 'Book of Women' containing Judith are MS Deir al-Surian 27, second part (8f1), and MS Brit. Libr., Add. 14,447 (10f1). A third branch of the textual tradition of Syriac Judith is constituted by the so-called Masoretic manuscripts. Judith is absent from the earliest (East-Syriac) witness, MS Brit. Libr., Add. 12,138 (9m1) as well as from one tenth-century West-Syriac witness, MS Brit. Libr., Add. 12,178 (10m1), but it is present in all other Masoretic manuscripts. Finally, Judith does not appear in the lectionary manuscripts and is hardly ever quoted in Syriac literature.

De Lagarde's 1861 edition of Syriac Judith reproduces the text of MS Brit. Libr. Add. 14,447 (10f1) and notes the variants from Walton's Polyglot edition (1657) in the appendix.[3] Since De Lagarde did not mention

[1] For the sigla of Syriac manuscripts, see *List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts (Preliminary Issue)* (Leiden, 1961) and 'Fourth Supplement to the List of Old Testament Peshiṭta Manuscripts' (PIC 7), *VT* 18 (1968), 135.

[2] See C. Burris and L. Van Rompay, 'Thecla in Syriac Christianity. Preliminary Observations', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 5.2 (July 2002).

[3] P.A. de Lagarde, *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi Syriace* (Leipzig–London, 1861), 104–126 (Syriac text), and xv–xxi (variant readings).

the earlier sixth-century manuscript (Brit. Libr. Add. 14,652), it is likely that this manuscript had not yet been identified. It was fully described for the first time in the second volume of W. Wright's *Catalogue*, which appeared in 1871.[4] R. Hanhart, in the introduction to his 1979 Septuagint edition of Judith, asserts that the three editions in which he consulted the Syriac text—Ceriani's 1878 facsimile edition of 7a1, Walton's Polyglot, and Lagarde's edition—present essentially the same text.[5]

In view of this apparent homogeneity of the textual tradition of Syriac Judith, it is all the more interesting that a significantly different version was discovered in Kerala, India some twenty years ago. The credit for having discovered this text and for having recognized its importance, as well as for having studied, edited, and translated it goes entirely to the late Nijmegen Old Testament and Syriac scholar J.P.M. van der Ploeg.[6]

Van der Ploeg first mentioned this text in his 1983 catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts in the libraries of Kerala.[7] The manuscript in question is presently in the library of the Malankara Catholic archbishop at Trivandrum. It first contains several pieces of liturgical poetry, some of which are attributed to the East-Syrian authors Khamis bar Qardāḥē and Gabriel Qamṣā (both ca. 1300), while the main part of the manuscript has the 'Paradise of Eden' by the East-Syrian writer ʿAbdishoʿ of Nisibis (d. 1318). The Judith text (f. 123r–139r) is separated from ʿAbdishoʿ by a few empty pages (f. 119r–122v), and the colophon on f. 139r brings the whole manuscript—not just the Judith text—to a close, even though a few more folios, containing the Epistle to the Romans and extracts from the first Epistle to the Corinthians (f. 150v–156v), follow.

From the colophon it appears that the manuscript was written by an Indian Syrian Christian with Catholic allegiance in 1734 CE. It cannot be ascertained whether he found this combination of texts already in his model or whether he himself put the texts together, using different sources. The fact that he left a few pages empty between ʿAbdishoʿ and Judith may perhaps be seen as an indication that for the latter text he moved to a different, possibly much older, model.

In his 1983 publication, Van der Ploeg limited himself to noticing that Judith was 'according to an unknown recension'. In the introduction

[4] W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* 2 (London, 1871), 651a–652a.

[5] R. Hanhart, *Iudith* (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graece 8.4; Göttingen, 1979), 16: 'Alle drei Ausgaben bieten im wesentlichen den gleichen Text.'

[6] Father van der Ploeg passed away at an advanced age on August 4, 2004.

[7] J.P.M. van der Ploeg, *The Christians of St. Thomas in South India and their Syriac Manuscripts* (Placid Lecture Series 3; Bangalore, 1983), 87–88.

to his 1991 monograph, which contains a facsimile edition of the new Judith text, with an English translation and 'some select notes' (p. 35–38),[8] he provided a few more details. He argued that the Trivandrum text, while being partly identical with the published Syriac text (i.e., Walton, Lagarde, Ceriani, and the Mosul Bible), often follows the Greek text as published by Hanhart 'quite closely'. A few more observations on the relationship with the Greek and Syriac texts were made in a study that appeared in 1992.[9] Here he argued that the Trivandrum translation from the Greek is 'very often a slavish one' and that the Greek *Vorlage* 'was not the one published by Rahlfs or Hanhart' but 'another Greek *Vorlage*'.[10] A number of examples served to illustrate the position of the Trivandrum text, which is somehow independent *vis-à-vis* both the Peshitta and the Greek text published by Hanhart. Van der Ploeg refrained from studying the textual character of the new text in greater detail, since '[a]s long as the book of Judith is not published in the Peshitta of Leiden, it seems premature to pronounce a judgment . . .'[11]

While Van der Ploeg's reticence might still be justified today—more than ten years later—as we still are waiting for Syriac Judith to appear in the Leiden Peshitta edition, I nevertheless would like to study the new text in greater detail, in an attempt to assess its place in the textual tradition. Even though I will not be able to use all the evidence for Syriac Judith, I will adduce a selection of the earliest manuscripts, which will give us an idea of the Peshitta text form in the early period.[12] I will first address some questions of language, style, and translation technique in an attempt to date the new Judith text and to situate it in its literary and historical context. Next I will study an important insertion, found in the new text, which reveals the translator's view on

[8] Idem, *The Book of Judith (Daughter of Merari)* (Mōrān 'Ethō 3; Kottayam, 1991).

[9] Idem, 'Some Remarks on a Newly Found Syriac Text of the Book of Judith', in F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst, and C.J. Labuschagne (eds.), *The Scriptures and the Scrolls. Studies in Honour of A.S. van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Leiden, 1992), 125–134.

[10] Van der Ploeg, 'Some Remarks', 129–130; see also idem, *The Book*, 38: 'Tr depends more on G than on Mo (Ceriani) but its Greek 'Vorlage' was different from the text as established by Hanhart.'

[11] Van der Ploeg, *The Book*, 6.

[12] All Syriac quotations will be taken from MS Brit. Libr., Add. 14,652 (6f1). Significant variants from the following MSS and editions will be adduced: Ceriani's facsimile edition (7a1), MS Deir al-Surian 27 (8f1), and Lagarde's edition of MS 10f1 (Lag.). I will use the siglum P (= Peshitta) for these quotations, without claiming that they reflect the original Peshitta or that the text form that they represent was part of the original Peshitta from the first moment of its existence. For the Trivandrum manuscript the siglum Tr will be used. P and Tr denote either the texts or their authors/translators.

the historical setting of the book of Judith. This will, finally, lead to some general observations on the place of the book of Judith in Syriac literary tradition.[13]

1. *A First Example: Jdt 8:7–8*

As our starting point I have selected a short passage which allows us to review briefly some of the characteristics of the two Syriac versions, as compared to the Greek text and to one another.

[1] Καὶ ἦν καλὴ τῷ εἴδει καὶ ὡραία τῇ ὄψει (*O*: + καὶ σοφὴ τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθὴ ἐν συνέσει καὶ ἦν πλουσία) σφόδρα· καὶ (*O*: ὅτι) ὑπελείπετο αὐτῇ Μανασσῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ παῖδας καὶ παιδίσκας καὶ κτήνη καὶ ἀγρούς, καὶ ἔμενεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν. καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὃς ἐπήνεγκεν αὐτῇ ῥῆμα πονηρὸν, ὅτι ἐφοβεῖτο τὸν θεὸν σφόδρα.

And she was beautiful in figure and lovely in appearance (*O*: + and wise in heart and good in understanding and wealthy) very much; and (*O*: for) her husband Manasses had left her gold and silver, and male and female servants, and livestock and fields, and she remained on these. And there was none who uttered an evil word about her, for she feared God very much.

	Peshitta	Trivandrum MS
1	ܗܘܬ ܫܦܝܪ ܒܚܙܘܬܗ ܘܛܒ ܒܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܘܚܟܝܡ ܒܠܒܗ ܘܫܦܝܪ ܒܡܠܬܗ.	ܗܘܬ ܫܦܝܪ ܒܚܙܘܬܗ ܘܛܒ ܒܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܘܚܟܝܡ ܒܠܒܗ ܘܫܦܝܪ ܒܡܠܬܗ:
	ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܬܝܬܪ ܠܗ ܒܥܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܟܣܦ ܘܟܠ ܢܟܣ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܚܩܠ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܡܫܬܚ ܘܒܗܡܬܐ ܘܒܥܕܪ ܘܒܥܢ ܘܒܣܐ ܘܒܓܡܠ ܘܒܪܟܫ ܘܒܣܘܣ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܝܪ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ	ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܬܝܬܪ ܠܗ ܒܥܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܟܣܦ ܘܟܠ ܢܟܣ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܚܩܠ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܡܫܬܚ ܘܒܗܡܬܐ ܘܒܥܕܪ ܘܒܥܢ ܘܒܣܐ ܘܒܓܡܠ ܘܒܪܟܫ ܘܒܣܘܣ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܝܪ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ
5	ܘܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܒܥܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܟܣܦ ܘܟܠ ܢܟܣ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܚܩܠ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܡܫܬܚ ܘܒܗܡܬܐ ܘܒܥܕܪ ܘܒܥܢ ܘܒܣܐ ܘܒܓܡܠ ܘܒܪܟܫ ܘܒܣܘܣ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܝܪ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ	ܘܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܒܥܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܟܣܦ ܘܟܠ ܢܟܣ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܚܩܠ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܡܫܬܚ ܘܒܗܡܬܐ ܘܒܥܕܪ ܘܒܥܢ ܘܒܣܐ ܘܒܓܡܠ ܘܒܪܟܫ ܘܒܣܘܣ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܝܪ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ
10	ܘܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܒܥܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܟܣܦ ܘܟܠ ܢܟܣ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܚܩܠ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܡܫܬܚ ܘܒܗܡܬܐ ܘܒܥܕܪ ܘܒܥܢ ܘܒܣܐ ܘܒܓܡܠ ܘܒܪܟܫ ܘܒܣܘܣ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܝܪ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ	ܘܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܒܥܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܟܣܦ ܘܟܠ ܢܟܣ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܚܩܠ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܡܫܬܚ ܘܒܗܡܬܐ ܘܒܥܕܪ ܘܒܥܢ ܘܒܣܐ ܘܒܓܡܠ ܘܒܪܟܫ ܘܒܣܘܣ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܝܪ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ
15	ܘܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܒܥܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܟܣܦ ܘܟܠ ܢܟܣ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܚܩܠ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܡܫܬܚ ܘܒܗܡܬܐ ܘܒܥܕܪ ܘܒܥܢ ܘܒܣܐ ܘܒܓܡܠ ܘܒܪܟܫ ܘܒܣܘܣ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܝܪ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ	ܘܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܒܥܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܕܟܣܦ ܘܟܠ ܢܟܣ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܚܩܠ ܘܥܒܕ ܘܡܫܬܚ ܘܒܗܡܬܐ ܘܒܥܕܪ ܘܒܥܢ ܘܒܣܐ ܘܒܓܡܠ ܘܒܪܟܫ ܘܒܣܘܣ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܝܪ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ ܘܪܡܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܘܙܚܠ

(Variant P readings: l. 1 ܗܘܬ] ܐܬܝܬ Lag. | l. 2 ܐܬܝܬ] + ܐܬܝ Lag. | l. 6 ܟܠ ܒܥܝܪ] ܒܥܝ Lag. | l. 8 inv. Lag. | l. 10 inv. 7a1, 8f1, and Lag.)

[13] Septuagint quotations of Judith are taken from Hanhart's edition (with variant readings sometimes added between brackets). In my translations I have been guided by the *Revised Standard Version* as well as by C.A. Moore, *Judith. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (The Anchor Bible; Garden City, NY, 1985).

This passage shows some of the characteristics of each of the Syriac texts; it also illustrates the relationship between the two Syriac texts on the one hand and the Greek on the other. First, Tr is longer than P. Second, morphologically, lexically, and syntactically Tr is closer to the Greek original. Third, in both vocabulary and morpho-syntax the two Syriac texts reflect a slightly different stage of the language. Fourth, some interesting conclusions on the underlying Greek texts can be drawn. Each of these items will now be explored in greater detail.

First, as for the length of the texts, Tr has a number of expansions or double translations. In l. 2, ὡραία receives a double translation in Tr (*p(ʾ)itā wa-hdirtā* 'handsome and splendid') as opposed to only one rendering in P (*yāʾē* 'pleasing'). In l. 10, Tr adds the adjective *saggi(ʾ)tā* 'much' after 'cattle'. In l. 13, ἐπήνεγκεν αὐτῇ is translated with two verbs in Tr: *ʾayti bātrāh ʾaw ʾemar ʿlēh* 'brought out after her or spoke concerning her', whereas P only has the second of these verbs. Although in principle we cannot rule out the possibility that Tr in (some of) these cases is reflecting a different *Vorlage* (of which no trace can be found in the preserved manuscripts), it is much more likely that we are dealing here with the expansive tendency of the Tr translator. Evidence of this tendency can be found in almost any single passage.

Second, the Tr translator adheres more closely than P to the morphology, the syntax, and the vocabulary of the Greek original. Greek imperfect forms are rendered with the participle or *ʾit* followed by *hwā* more consistently in Tr (l. 1, 12, and 15)[14] than in P (l. 12 and 15). P twice uses *hwā* in initial position to render ἦν (l. 1 and 5), a structure not found in Tr. Other examples of the closer adherence to the Greek are the rendering of ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν in l. 11 (Tr *ʿlayhon*; P *b-hēn*) and the addition of the demonstrative *haw* to the relative particle *d-* in the rendering of the Greek relative pronoun ὅς in l. 13. Syntactically Tr is closer to the Greek than P in l. 2 and 4, where P has a periphrastic translation. Lexically, Tr's rendering of ἐπήνεγκεν (l. 13) with the causative form of *ʾetā* may have been prompted by the translator's concern to render the Greek faithfully.[15]

Third, whereas P consistently uses the absolute form of the adjective as predicate, Tr does so only once (l. 5) and in the majority of the cases

[14] In Tr l. 11 the use of the participle + *hwā* (*mqawwyā (h)wāt*) may indicate that the translator read ἔμεινεν rather than ἔμενεν (see Hanhart, apparatus).

[15] The causative form *ʾayti* is also used in a pre-Syro-Hexaplaric translation of the Greek text of Gen 37:2, as a rendering of κατήνεγκαν (or -εν), in a context very similar to the one found here. See A. Salvesen, 'Hexaplaric Readings in Išoʿdad of Merv's Commentary on Genesis', in J. Frishman and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation. A Collection of Essays* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; Louvain, 1997), 244–245.

uses the emphatic form. This loss of the absolute form may be due to the influence of Greek, in which language this morphological distinction does not exist. It also reflects, however, a different and later stage in the Syriac literary language.

For χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον 'gold and silver' (or the latter term having the general meaning 'money'), P has: *dahbā w-kespā* (l. 8), whereas Tr has *sēmā* (from Greek ἄσημον) for ἀργύριον. The distinction *kespā*/*sēmā* is well-known within the Peshitta tradition (as a translation of Hebr. *kesep*), in which the first word (in the sense of 'silver metal' as opposed to money) is seen as the conservative rendering, while the second word is an innovation[16] (in two other instances, however, at 5:9 and 10:22, P does use *sēmā*). A similar opposition between a 'conservative' indigenous word and an innovation derived from Greek may be seen in the rendering of ἀγρούς 'fields', for which P has *quryā* (l. 10) and Tr *ʾagorsē* (the latter word is used one more time in Tr, at 8:3, where P has *ḥaqlā*).[17]

Fourth, for the two verses under consideration, both P and Tr reflect a type of text that is significantly different from Hanhart's base text. Following the rules of the Göttingen Septuagint edition, Hanhart offers an eclectic text, in an attempt to get as close as possible to the 'original' Septuagint. Compared to this reconstructed text, P and Tr contain an important addition, which in its Greek form is characteristic of two manuscripts[18] identified by Hanhart as representing the Hexaplaric recension (siglum *O*).[19] The two significant *O* readings for our passage, the eleven-word addition (l. 3–5) and the reading ὅτι (l. 6), are reflected in both versions.

Assuming that P is older than Tr (a proposition hinted at in some of the above observations, but which still needs further study), for this specific *O* addition Tr cannot simply be dependent on P, for Tr reflects

[16] M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament. An Introduction* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56; Cambridge, 1999), 174.

[17] In the Peshitta New Testament *qritā* and *ʾagorsā*, as renderings of ἀγρός 'field', seem to have become largely synonymous. In Matt 27:7, 8a, and 10, however, Peshitta has *ʾagorsā* as opposed to *qritā* of Sinaiticus. All Gospel references are to G.A. Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels. Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshitta and Harklean Versions* (2nd ed.; Piscataway, NJ, 2002).

[18] The MSS in question are nos. 58 (Rome, Bib. Vat., Regin. gr. 10, 11th c.) and 583 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 1087; 14th c.). In addition, *O* readings may be found in the 'codices mixti'. See Hanhart, *Iudith*, 23 as well as 8 and 10.

[19] R. Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Judith* (AAWG.MSU 14; Göttingen, 1979), 15–19. Hanhart made a strong case for regarding the text of MSS 58 and 583 as 'Hexaplaric' (even though this version may not have been created by Origen), while earlier scholars were more reluctant to apply this term, see M. Bogaert, 'La version latine du livre de Judith dans la première Bible d'Alcala', *RBen* 78 (1968), 181.

the Greek syntax more closely than P (particularly in l. 3 and 4), which leads to the conclusion that Tr had direct access to the Greek, independent of P. Both P and Tr, therefore, may be said to reflect an underlying Greek manuscript of the *O* tradition.[20]

2. *Tr's Relationship to P*

The fact that the two authors/translators, of P and Tr, had independent access to a Greek *Vorlage*, does not rule out the possibility that Tr also consulted P. As a matter of fact, it can be shown that many double translations and expansive renderings in Tr consist of the P reading followed by an additional element which closely reflects the Greek. A few examples are given.

[2] Jdt 2:5 – ἄνδρας πεποιθότας ἐν ἰσχύι αὐτῶν 'men confident in their strength'
P: ܓܒܪܐ ܚܝܠܐ 'men who are powerful'
Tr: ܓܒܪܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܒܚܝܠܗ 'men powerful in strength'
The phrase ἐν ἰσχύι was added by the author of Tr who, apart from this insertion, made no further attempts to improve on P's free rendering.

[3] Jdt 3:8 – καὶ τὰ ἄλση αὐτῶν ἐξέκοψεν 'and he cut down their sacred groves'
P: ܟܠ ܨܠܡܘܗܝ ܩܛܥ 'and he cut down all their idols'
(ܩܛܥ] ܩܛ Lag. | ܨܠܡܘܗܝ] without *syāmē* Lag. | ܟܠ] plur. 7a1)
Tr: ܟܠ ܨܠܡܘܗܝ ܘܐܫܬܝܗܝ ܩܛܥ 'and he cut down all their idols and sacred groves'
The term used in P may be used for any object of veneration and may, therefore, have been seen as lacking the precision of the Greek ἄλσος 'sacred grove or precinct'. The word added in Tr, *šetteltā*, is more specific. It is used, e.g., in Deut 16:21, as a rendering of Hebr. ʾᵃ*šerāh*, rendered in the Septuagint with ἄλσος (Syro-Hexapla has the compound *bet šettlātā*[21]).

[4] Jdt 3:10 – ἀνὰ μέσον Γαιβαὶ καὶ Σκυθῶν πόλεως 'between Geba and Scythopolis'

[20] More examples of both P's and Tr's agreement with the *O* tradition are provided in my texts nos. 5, 8, and 29. See also notes 22 and 38.

[21] A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla. A Fac-simile Edition of a Midyat MS discovered 1964* (CSCO 369, Subs. 45; Louvain, 1975), f. 172r.

P: ܒܝܬ ܚܕ ܠܓܒܥ ‘between Geba and Bayshan’
Tr: ܒܝܬ ܓܒܥ ܘܒܝܬ ܫ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܣܟܘܬܝܐ ܕܗܝ ܒܝܬ ܫܢ ‘between Geba and the city of the Scythians, which is Betshan’
While *Bayšān* is the usual Syriac name for the city of Scythopolis, Tr provides a translation of the Greek name, adding the Syriac name in a relative clause.

[5] Jdt 4:9 – καὶ ἀνεβόησαν πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ἰσραήλ … ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ μεγάλῃ ‘and every man of Israel cried out … with great assiduousness’
P: ܟܠ ܓܒܪ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ … ܘܩܪܘ ܟܠ ܚܕ ‘and the whole of Israel … cried out with all their heart’
Tr: ܟܠ ܓܒܪ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܩܪܘ ܒܟܠ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ … ܘܩܪܘ ܟܠ ܚܕ ‘and the whole of Israel cried out with great assiduousness, with all their heart’
The word ἀνήρ is omitted in Greek MS 583 as well as in other branches of the textual tradition. It must have been absent as well from the Greek models of P and Tr. The Greek expression ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ μεγάλῃ ‘with great assiduousness’ was rendered *ad sensum* in P as ‘with all their heart’. This free translation of P is coupled in Tr with an etymological translation, based on the connection between τείνω and the Syriac verb *mtaḥ*.[22]

[6] Jdt 9:2 – εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἀλλογενῶν ‘to (take) revenge on the foreigners’
P: ܠܡܬܒܥ ܒ ܡܬܓܪ ‘to take revenge on the enemies’
Tr: ܠܡܬܒܥ ܒ ܡܬܓܪ ܕܥܡܡܐ ‘to take revenge on the enemies of another race’
The second rendering of ἀλλογενής in Tr is a calque of the Greek word.[23] The same calque is also found in the Harklean version (Luke 17:18, where S, C, and P have *d-men ʿammā nukrāyā*)[24] and in the Syro-Hexapla.[25]

[7] Jdt 10:12 – τίνων εἶ ‘To whom do you belong?’
P: ܡܢ ‘What’s your story?’
Tr: ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ‘What’s your story and to whom do you belong?’

[22] The same expression, ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ μεγάλῃ occurs a second time in the same verse, but here both P and Tr read *b-ṣawmā rabbā*, which corresponds to the *O* reading ἐν νηστείᾳ μεγάλῃ ‘in great fasting’.

[23] Perhaps the reading is to be corrected to ܠܡܥܡܡ, see R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford, 1879–1901; reprint Hildesheim–New York, 1981), 129.

[24] The calque *(ʾ)ḥrēnay gensā* (sing.) is found in the Syriac translation of Athanasius of Alexandria, see W. Cureton, *The Festal Letters of Athanasius* (London, 1848; Gorgias Press Edition, 2003), 42, 22.

[25] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 129.

Rather than translating the Greek, P uses an idiomatic Syriac expression (comp. Ruth 2:5); Tr keeps the same expression, but adds to it a literal translation of the Greek.

[8] Jdt 12:16 – καιρὸν τοῦ ἀπαντῆσαι αὐτήν [= *O*] 'a time (or an opportunity) to meet her'
P: ܙܒܢܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܗ 'a time to know (i.e., to have intercourse with) her'
Tr: ܙܒܢܐ ܕܐܬܝܕܥ ܘܐܬܦܓܫ ܥܡܗ 'a time to meet her and to know her'
There can be no doubt that both Syriac versions reflect the *O* reading (rather than ἀπατῆσαι 'to deceive' or ἀπαιτῆσαι 'to demand'). P has a translation *ad sensum*, which is preceded in Tr by a translation *ad litteram*.

[9] Jdt 15:12 – καὶ ἐποίησαν (*var.*: ἐποίησεν) αὐτῇ χορὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν 'and some of them performed a dance for her' (= RSV) or 'and they made (i.e., selected) from them a band of dancers (or: singers) for her.'
P (missing in 6f1): ܘܒܚܪܘ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܟܬܬ ܣܓܝ ܟܬ ܚܝܠ (= 7a1) 'and they selected from them crowds of (female praise-)singers'
(ܚܝܠ] ܚܝܠ Lag.[26] | ܟܬܬ] sing. 8f1)
Tr: ܘܒܚܪܘ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܟܬ ,ܡܚܕ ܘܐܬܦܓܫ ܟܬ ܣܓܝ ܟܬ ܚܝܠ
'and they selected from them (or: some of them selected) a crowd of (female praise-)singers and they performed for her a dance, before her and around her'
While P clearly understood χορός as 'a band of dancers or singers' and adopted the second translation proposed above, Tr reproduces the P text and adds to it a second rendering of the Greek text, based on the understanding of χορός as 'dance', which also allows him to reintroduce αὐτῇ, omitted in P. For the rendering of χορός with *repsā* (or *rpāsā*) there is a parallel in both the Syro-Hexapla (e.g., at Exod 32:19[27]) and the Harklean version (Luke 15:25). The word *kenšā* 'crowd' may have prompted the addition 'before her and around her', for which there is no support in the Greek tradition.

These examples indicate that Tr is not simply a straightforward translation based on the Greek. In addition to his own Greek *Vorlage*, Tr also knew a Syriac text identical, or nearly identical, to P. In the passages studied above, he integrated elements of this text into his work. Notwithstanding his obvious objective to adhere to the vocabulary, to the morphology, and to the syntax of his Greek model more closely than P, he allowed himself a number of expansions, additions, or double

[26] This reading of 10f1 may reflect the Greek variant ἐποίησεν (Judith is the subject).
[27] Vööbus, *The Pentateuch*, f. 54r.

translations. It is within this broad category of expansive renderings that he was able to incorporate readings from P. I am not suggesting that the influence of P on his work is limited to these and similar additions. On the contrary, P seems often to have guided his choice of words and even his syntax.[28] If this analysis is correct, we have to assume that P is older than Tr and that Tr represents a revision of P, carried out with the help of (at least) one Greek manuscript.

3. *The Underlying Greek Text in P and Tr*

As already briefly pointed out above, the Greek texts on which—independently from one another—the authors of P and Tr worked, both belonged to the so-called Hexaplaric tradition (*O*). For P this has long since been known to scholars; it clearly appears from the critical apparatus on every page of Hanhart's edition, in which the Syriac material was taken into account. Determining the exact place of P's *Vorlage* within the *O* tradition, however, is more difficult, since many of the non-lexical *O* characteristics did not leave their trace in P due to the free nature of the translation.

Tr in general shares the *O* characteristics of P. In some cases this might be explained as the result of Tr's dependence on P, to whose *O* readings he might have given preference over the readings of his own (non-*O*) Greek model. In many more cases, however, this explanation does not work, particularly in those instances in which Tr provides a text which is closer to the Greek *O* text and which cannot possibly have been reconstructed by the author of Tr without accessing the Greek text. An example may be found in our text no. 1. In l. 3 and 4, within the addition characteristic of the *O* text, Tr closely follows Greek syntax (τῇ καρδίᾳ and ἐν συνέσει rendered with the preposition *b*), while P deals with these phrases in a different way. The conclusion, therefore, that Tr's Greek model contained this *O* addition is unavoidable.

This finding, however, does not allow us to conclude that the Greek *Vorlage* for our two authors/translators was the same in every respect. As a matter of fact, there are a small number of interesting divergences. Some of these will be briefly presented.[29]

[10] Jdt 6:21 – καὶ ἐποίησεν πότον τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις 'and he made a banquet (lit.: a drink) for the elders'

[28] P's impact on Tr is not even throughout the text. Some sections underwent more drastic reworking than others.

[29] See also examples 9 and 24.

P: ܠܩܒܠ ܩܕܡ ܕܝܩܪ ‘and he made a place for the elders’
Tr: ܠܩܒܠ ܩܕܡ ܕܫܬܝ ‘and he made a banquet (lit.: a drink) for the elders’
P reflects the reading τόπον, which is found in one Greek MS (314, 13th c., one of the recensional MSS), while Tr follows Hanhart's main text.[30]

[11] Jdt 12:17 – πίε δὴ καὶ γενήθητι μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν εἰς εὐφροσύνην (= Hanhart's main text) ‘Drink now and be with us in merriment!’ – MS 126 (15th c., one of the ‘codices mixti’): πίε δὴ καὶ εὐφράνθητι μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν ‘Drink now and be merry with us!’
P: ܫܬܝ ܘܬܗܘ ܥܡܢ ‘Drink and be merry with us!’
Tr: ܫܬܘ ܫܬܝ ܗܫܐ ܘܬܗܘ ܥܡܢ ‘Drink now and be with us in merriment!’
As noted in Hanhart's apparatus, P most likely supports the reading of MS 126,[31] while Tr reflects the reading of the main text.

[12] Jdt 12:19 – καὶ λαβοῦσα ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔπιεν κατέναντι αὐτοῦ ‘And having taken, she ate and drank before him.’
P: ܘܢܣܒܬ ܘܐܟܠܬ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ‘and she took and ate before him’
Tr: ܘܢܣܒܬ ܘܐܟܠܬ ܘܫܬܬ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ‘and having taken, she ate and drank before him’
P most likely reflects a Greek model which omitted the ‘drinking’ (as noted in Hanhart's apparatus), although this omission is not attested in the Greek textual tradition. Tr has the two verbs, but the sequence (‘drinking’ – ‘eating’) is different from the one in the main text and is evidenced in MSS A (codex Alexandrinus) and 319 (11th c., representing the so-called Lucianic recension).

[13] Jdt 16:17 – οὐαὶ ἔθνεσιν ἐπανισταμένοις τῷ γένει μου ‘Woe to the nations that rise up against my people!’
P: ܘܝ ܠܗܘ ܥܡܐ ܕܩܐܡ ܥܠ ܥܡܝ ‘Woe to the people that stands up against my people!’
Tr: ܘܝ ܠܗܘ ܐܡܡܐ ܥܘܠܐ ܕܩܐܡܝܢ ܥܠ ܥܡܝ ‘Woe to the iniquitous peoples that stand up against my people!’
While P probably reflects a Greek text that had ‘people’ in the singular (see Hanhart's apparatus), Tr not only has the word in the plural, following the main text, but also adds the adjective *ʿawwālē* ‘iniquitous’, which corresponds to the Greek παράνομος, found in

[30] A simple misreading of the Greek word by P or Tr cannot be ruled out.
[31] Since P in general is a rather free translation, the possibility that the author of P would have come to his translation on the basis of the main text cannot completely be ruled out.

the Greek MSS 58 and 583 (only the former of these has the noun in the plural).

4. *The Character of Tr as a Translation*

In our further attempt to determine Tr's place vis-à-vis P, we will look at some lexical and morpho-syntactical features in Tr, which may help us to situate the Tr translation in the history of the Syriac language and of Syriac translation technique.

In spite of its overall proximity to P, Tr on several occasions distances itself from lexical choices made in P and substituted new terms and phrases for those found in P. Tr's concern for close adherence to the Greek may have guided a number of these changes; it does not explain them all. We additionally have to consider the possibility that Tr reflects a stage of the Syriac literary language slightly different from the one reflected in P.

While P frequently uses *petgāmā*, as a rendering of ῥῆμα and λόγος, this Syriac word is absent from Tr, which always uses *melltā*. The word *petgāmā* is common in OT Peshitta, but subsequently loses ground and becomes restricted to a small number of set expressions. It is rare in NT Peshitta, as it is in the Harklean version of the Gospels.[32] Other P words which the author of Tr may have found obsolete include:

[14] *gaddudā* 'young man': Jdt 7:22, 16:4 and 6 (νεανίσκος),[33] occasionally found in OT Peshitta (as a rendering of Hebr. *bāḥur*, e.g., Deut 32:25, 2 Kgs 8:12)[34] and in early Syriac literature.[35] Tr has *šabrā* at 7:22, but *gaddudā* is maintained in 16:4 and 6. At all other occurrences of νεανίσκος both P and Tr have *ʿlaymā*.

[15] *prasṭwitā* 'slave':[36] Jdt 8:10 (ἄβρα 'favorite slave'), a word of Persian origin, which appears to be a *hapax legomenon*.[37] Tr has *ʾamtā*. The word is used only once in P; at all subsequent occurrences of ἄβρα,

[32] Comp. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version*, 167.

[33] The same Greek word in the next verse (7:23) is rendered with *ʿlaymē* (P and Tr).

[34] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 652.

[35] E.g., P.A. de Lagarde, *Titi Bostreni Contra Manichaeos Libri quatuor* (Berlin, 1859; reprint Hannover, 1924), 149,32.

[36] The reading in 6f1, 7a1, and 8f1 clearly is ܪܥܝܬܗ; Lag. has ܪܥܝܬܗ. The same word, *hapax legomenon* in Syriac, is also *hapax legomenon* in Targumic Aramaic, at Judg 5:29: *prstwyth*' (with non-emphatic Taw in both instances) 'her maids', for Hebr. *sarotehā*; see W.F. Smelik, *The Targum of Judges* (OTS 36; Leiden, 1995), 478–479.

[37] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 3281; C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (2nd ed.; Halle, 1928; reprint Hildesheim, 1966), 601b.

P uses different words: *ṭlitā* (8:33, 10:2), *ʾamtā* (10:5, 13:9, 16:23), or *ʿlaymtā* (10:17); Tr has *ʾamtā* throughout.

[16] *bet maddānē* 'wine cellar': Jdt 8:10 (ταμιεῖον 'storehouse'),[38] rare in Syriac (Isa 24:10[39] and Zeph 1:9);[40] Tr: *tawwānā* 'inner chamber' (plur.).

[17] *šelḥā* '(sheep-)skin': Jdt 12:15 (κώδιον), very rare in Syriac;[41] Tr: *prutā*, which is also not common, but is attested in the sixth century[42] and is found in the Syro-Hexapla (3 Reg 19:19: μηλωτή).[43]

[18] *nēnrā* '(a certain type of) sword': Jdt 13:6 and 16:9 (ἀκινάκης), very rare in Syriac;[44] Tr: *sapsērā*.

[19] *srigtā* '(any woven piece, but here some kind of woven) headband': Jdt 16:8 (μίτρα). This specific meaning of the word is rare;[45] at the other occurrence of μίτρα (10:3[4]), a different word is used: *sbākā*.[46] Tr has *sbākā* in both passages.

[20] A shift from P to Tr may also be noticed in the terms used to express the notion of God's protection of his people. P uses different verbs: *sʿar* 'to visit, or attend' (4:15: ἐπισκέπτεσθαι – comp. 13:20, God's attending Judith) and *sayyaʿ* 'to assist' (5:21 and 6:2: ὑπερασπίζειν).[47] At 8:15 P uses the phrase *ʾaggen ʿlayn* (σκεπάσαι ἡμᾶς and in two prayers *raḥḥep ʿal* (the word used for the Spirit in OT Peshitta at Gen 1:2) is used (9:14: ὑπερασπίζειν and 13:5: ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι). While Tr preserves *ʾaggen* at 8:15, adding *sʿar* to it (*naggen ʿlayn w-nesʿor lan*), *raḥḥep* is not maintained, but is

[38] Both P and Tr follow the *O* reading here: (she sent her slave) τὴν ἐφεστῶσαν πᾶσιν τοῖς ταμιείοις αὐτῆς 'who was in charge of all her storehouses'. Hanhart's main text has: τὴν ἐφεστῶσαν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῇ '... of all her possessions'.

[39] Ishoʿdad of Merv, in his commentary, found it necessary to provide an explanation: 'rooms in which wine is kept', see C. Van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament* 6. *Isaïe et les Douze* (CSCO 303–304, Syr. 128–129; Louvain, 1969), 31,8 (text) and 39,27 (translation).

[40] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 924 and 2018; Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 70a.

[41] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 4174; Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 780a.

[42] In the mid-sixth-century Life of John of Tella: E.W. Brooks, *Vitae Virorum apud Monophysitas celeberrimorum* (CSCO 7, Syr. 7; Paris, 1907), 48,6.

[43] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 3229; Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 594a.

[44] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 2387; Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 432a.

[45] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 2727–2728; Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 496b.

[46] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 2502–2503; Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 454b; M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat-Gan, 2002), 783b.

[47] In addition the verb ἐπισκέπτεσθαι is used at 8:33. Mss 6f1, 7a1, and 8f1 read *praq* 'to save', whereas Lag. has *pqad* 'to inspect, or command'.

replaced with *sattar* 'to protect' (9:14) and *ʿaddar* 'to help' (13:5). What is to be considered a dynamic equivalent in P, contributing to the profile of P as an idiomatic Syriac text, is neutralized in Tr.[48]

In addition to replacing these and other words which may have become uncommon or obsolete in his day with other words that are more widely attested, the author of Tr employed other strategies to adapt his vocabulary to the contemporary literary conventions (possibly of the sixth or seventh century). One is the use of neologisms to render Greek compounds. These may either have been created by him or borrowed from his literary environment. A few examples will be given.[49]

[21] ἄπρακτος occurs in Judith's first speech to Holofernes (11:11), which has the following words: ἵνα μὴ γένηται ὁ κύριός μου ἔκβολος καὶ ἄπρακτος 'in order that my lord would not be frustrated and unsuccessful'. P skips the first adjective and translates: ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܪܝ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ 'in order that my lord would not be without action'. Tr follows P, only formally adjusting the rendering of ἄπρακτος to the Greek form: ܐܦܪܩܛܘܣ ܠܐ, a phrase that is used in fifth-century translation Syriac with the meaning 'inefficient'.[50]

[22] παντοκράτωρ is used a number of times in the Greek text (4:13, 8:13, 15:10, 16:5, 16:17). P always renders it with *ḥayltānā* 'mighty, or powerful'. Tr knows the common Christian rendering *ʾaḥid kul*. This is added to the P reading (4:13 and 15:10), or replaces it (16:17), while in two instances Tr keeps the P reading without any addition (8:13 and 16:5).

[23] παράταξις is used a few times in the Greek text with the meaning 'arrangement for battle' (1:6, 2:15,[51] 5:23, 7:11, 16:12). While P renders it with general terms (*l-maqrābu* 'to wage war' at 1:6, *qrābā* 'battle' at 2:15 and 5:23, *mašritā* 'camp' at 16:12) or omits it (7:11),

[48] On *ʾaggen* in Syriac, see S.P. Brock, '*Maggnānutā*: A Technical Term in East Syrian Spirituality and its Background', in *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont. Contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 20; Genève, 1988), 121–129; on *raḥḥep*, see idem, 'The *Ruaḥ Elōhīm* of Gen 1,2 and its Reception History in the Syriac Tradition', in J.-M. Auwers and A. Wénin (eds.), *Lectures et relectures de la Bible. Festschrift P.-M. Bogaert* (BEThL 144; Louvain, 1999), 327–349.

[49] In addition to the examples given here, comp. also the rendering of ἀλλογενής, discussed above (no. 6).

[50] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 2688. Tr has an interesting expansion, which may be seen as an effort to compensate for the omission of the first Greek term, or to maintain the noun used in P: '... in order that my lord would not be inefficient (*lā sāʿorā*), I make known to my lord the action (*suʿrānā*) ...'

[51] Tr's reading ܒܥܘܬܐ ܕܩܪܒܐ should be corrected to ܒܥܘܬ ܩܪܒܐ (construct state).

Tr uses the compound *sdirut qrābā* at 2:15, 7:11, and 16:12, a phrase that is also found in the Syro-Hexapla.[52] At 1:6 and 5:23, however, Tr adopts the P readings.

[24] πρόγνωσις '(God's) foreknowledge' occurs in a sentence of Judith's prayer (9:6), which in Hanhart's edition reads: καὶ ἡ κρίσις σου ἐν προγνώσει 'and your judgment is in foreknowledge'. P freely translates (in Targumic fashion): ܘܒܪܝܬܟ ܒܫܡ ܩܕܡ ܐܬܓܠܝ 'and your creation was revealed before you' (reflecting κτίσις, see Hanhart's apparatus). Tr more closely follows the Greek (and with the noun 'creatures' in the plural reflects the common *O* reading): ܘܒܪܝܬܟ ܐܝܬ ܒܡܕܥܬ ܒܫܡ ܩܕܡ 'and your creatures were (or: existed) in your foreknowledge'. At the second occurrence of the word, at 11:19, where Judith's foreknowledge is at issue, Tr closely follows P in avoiding the word (perhaps in a deliberate attempt not to ascribe foreknowledge to Judith?). Although several Greek compounds beginning with προ- are rendered with the construct state of *qaddimutā*,*qaddimut ʾidaʿtā*, as a rendering of πρόγνωσις,[53] is less common than the derived form *mqaddmut ʾidaʿtā* (e.g., NT Peshitta, Acts 2:23 and 1 Pet 1:2).

[25] χειροποίητος '(plur: gods) made by hand' (8:18) is rendered in P in apposition: '(they worship gods,) the work of hands' (*ʿbād ʾidayyā*). Tr creates a compound with a participle, which mirrors the Greek: *ʿbiday b-(ʾ)idayyā*) '(gods) made by hands'.

[26] Of a slightly different nature are the renderings of ὀρεινή 'mountainous land', a substantivized form of the adjective ὀρεινός, a derivative from ὄρος. While P uses *ṭurā*, not distinguishing between ὄρος and ὀρεινή, Tr has *ṭurāytā*, a perfect calque of the Greek substantivized adjective (2:22, 4:7, 5:15, 15:5). This, however, cannot have been his natural choice, since in the majority of instances the simple form *ṭurā*, as used in P, was preferred (1:6, 5:1, 5:3, 5:5, 6:11, 7:1, 7:18, 10:12, 11:2, 15:2, 15:3, 15:7). In 5:19 Tr rendered ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ as *b-(ʾ)arʿā ṭurāytā*, using the word in its adjectival form. Used as a substantive, *ṭurāytā* serves to render ὀρεινή in both the Syro-

[52] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 253; Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 461a–b. See also R.J.V. Hiebert, *The 'Syrohexaplaric' Psalter* (SBL.SCS 27; Atlanta, GA, 1989), 171 (Ps 143:1 – εἰς παράταξιν).

[53] Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 648a. Comp. *qaddimut qrāytā*, for πρόκλησις, in the two Syriac versions of Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 41, see A.B. Schmidt, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera. Versio syriaca* 2. *Orationes XIII, XLI* (CChr.SG 47, Corpus Nazianzenum 15; Turnhout–Leuven, 2002), 36–37 (with note 53).

Hexapla (e.g., Judg 1:9)[54] and the Harklean version of the Gospels (Luke 1:39).[55]

Greek loan words are not numerous in either P or Tr. Two words have already been discussed above: *ʾagorsā* (ἀγρός), which is absent from P but found in Tr, and *sēmā* (ἄσημον), rendering the substantive ἀργύριον once in P (5:9) and three times in Tr (2:18, 5:9, 8:7) and the adjective ἀργυροῦς in P (10:22; Tr has *kespā*). The loanword *ʾawlonā* (αὐλών 'valley or glen') is found both in P and in Tr (4:4, 7:3, 7:17, 10:10, 10:11). Although it is not very common in Syriac, it occurs in OT Peshitta, at Jer 49:4 (the Hebrew is problematic).[56] Another loanword, *qayṭonā* (κοιτών) also is shared by P and Tr (13:3, 13:4, 14:15, 16:19). For ἡμίονος (2:17 and 15:11), Tr uses *mulyātā* (plur. based on the Latin *mula*), while P has the Aramaic/Akkadian word *kudnāwātā* at 15:11 (the word is omitted at 2:17). While εὐνοῦχος at 12:11 is rendered *mhaymnā* in both P and Tr, the loanword *ʾewnuksā* is found in Tr's expansive rendering of 14:13. The Greek word is attested in the Harklean version (Matt 19:12; Old Syriac and Peshitta have *mhaymnā*) as well as in the Syro-Hexapla.[57] One more Greek term deserves to be discussed here: κωνώπιον, which is used at Jdt 10:21, 13:9, and 13:15. The first passage is as follows:

[27] Jdt 10:21 – καὶ ἦν Ὀλοφέρνης ἀναπαυόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κωνωπίῳ 'and Holofernes was resting on his bed under the canopy'

P: ܘܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܒ ܘܢܝܚ ܥܠ ܦܬܘܪܗ ܕܒܝܬ ܟܘܣܝܗ 'and Holofernes was lying and resting on his bed under his curtain'

Tr: ܘܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܒ ܘܢܝܚ ܒܓܘ ܥܠ ܦܬܘܪܗ ܕܒܝܬ ܟܘܣܝܗ ܕܒܘܨܢܐ ܕܩܪܝ ܩܘܢܘܦܝܘܢ 'and Holofernes was lying and resting on his bed within that transparent and pure curtain that is called *qonopyon*.'

Tr's expansive rendering includes the Greek loanword, which to the best of my knowledge is attested nowhere else in Syriac. At 13:9, where P again renders κωνώπιον with *kelltā*, Tr reads 'that pure curtain', referring back with these words to his earlier explanation. At 13:15 Tr reads *kelltā*, along with P, without any addition, while his explanatory rendering at the fourth occurrence (16:19: *kelltā hāy zqirat b-dahbā* 'that curtain woven with gold') again betrays his uneasiness with a one-term translation of this word.

[54] T.S. Rørdam, *Libri Judicum et Ruth secundum versionem Syriaco-Hexaplarem* 1 (Copenhagen, 1859), 64.

[55] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 1452; Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 272a.

[56] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 66; Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 8b.

[57] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 72b; Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 8b–9a.

When we move to the field of syntax and morpho-syntax, there is a major difference between the two versions in the sentence structure, due to the frequent presence in Tr of the particle *ʾit* (with suffixes) as a rendering of the verb εἰμί. Many nominal clauses, for which P normally chooses the structure with the so-called pronoun-copula or, in cases of past tense, with post-predicative *hwā*, are rendered in Tr as *ʾit* or *ʾit (h)wā* clauses. The introduction of the nominal clauses of the *ʾit* type often entails the loss of the absolute state of predicative adjectives. Examples of this process have been encountered in nos. 1, 7, and 24. This transformation, however, did not take place in a consistent way. Many sentences were not converted according to the *ʾit* paradigm.[58]

One specific type of *ʾit (h)wā* clauses deserves to be singled out for discussion. It concerns the Greek ἦν followed by the participle. A few examples will be given.

[28] Jdt 4:13 – καὶ ἦν ὁ λαὸς νηστεύων 'and the people were fasting'
P: ܘܗܘܐ ܥܡܐ ܨܐܡܝܢ
Tr: ܘܗܘܝ ܥܡܐ ܗܘܐ ,ܨܐܡܝܢ 'and the people were (existing) while fasting'
The Greek structure expresses a durative past tense, for which the obvious equivalent in classical Syriac would be the active participle followed by (the enclitic) *hwā*. The latter structure, however, is found in neither of the two versions. While P has *hwā* in initial position (for which there are parallels in OT Peshitta), Tr uses *ʾitaw(hy) (h)wā* and renders the Greek participle with a clause introduced by *d*.

[29] Jdt 8:1 – καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατοικοῦσα ... Ἰουδίθ [= *O*][59] 'and there was living in the city ... Judith'
P: ܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܐܬܬܐ ܒܥܡ ܕܒܬ
Tr: ܐܝܬܝܗ ... ܕܐܬܬܐ ܕܒܬ ܒܥܡ ܗܘܐ 'there was (existing) while living in the city ... Judith'

[58] For some observations on the increased use of *ʾit* structures in the successive Syriac renderings of the Hebrew Bible, see K.D. Jenner, 'Nominal Clauses in the Peshitta and Jacob of Edessa', in P.B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij (eds.), *The Peshitta as a Translation. Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19–21 August 1993* (MPIL 8; Leiden, 1995), 47–61. Tr's selective use of *ʾit* may be closer to Jacob of Edessa than to the (seemingly) more mechanical use in the Syro-Hexapla, but Jacob of Edessa may have been more conscious in his selectivity than Tr, who often (rather uncritically?) followed P.

[59] Hanhart's main text has: καὶ ἤκουσεν. Both Syriac versions clearly reflect the same *O* text. Moreover, Tr cannot possibly have come to his translation on the basis of P only and must, therefore, have had independent access to the Greek.

In contrast to the previous passage, P here has the participle with post-predicative *hwā*. Tr again has *ʾitēh (h)wāt*, followed by *d* + participle.

[30] Jdt 4:3 – ὅτι προσφάτως ἦσαν ἀναβεβηκότες ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας 'for they had only recently returned from the captivity'
P: ܕܐܬܝ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܒܪܡ ܡܢ ܫܒܝܐ ܗܘ
Tr: ܕܐܬܝ ܗܘ ܩܕܡ ܡܢ ܒܪܡ ܡܢ ܫܒܝܐ ܗܘ 'for shortly before they were (existing) while having returned from the captivity'
This case is different from the previous ones in that the Greek participle is in the perfect, a tense that the Syriac active participle does not express. The two Syriac versions proceed in different ways. P falls back on the conjugated perfect form, followed by *hwā*. Tr, however, sticks to the structure used in the earlier examples, substituting the 'participial adjective' (*salliq*) for the active participle. This form, belonging to intransitive verbs, expresses the result of an action and, therefore, is particularly suitable to render the Greek perfect. Even though as a verbal form it occasionally is found in fourth- and fifth-century texts, it became widespread only in the later period.[60]

This Syriac structure, consisting of *ʾitaw(hy) (h)wā*, followed by *d* + participle, is also found in the Harklean version, e.g. Luke 19:47 (καὶ ἦν διδάσκων): *w-ʾitaw(hy) (h)wā d-mallep* (Old Syriac and Peshitta: *mallep (h)wā*); John 18:25 (ἦν δὲ Σιμὼν Πέτρος ἑστώς): *ʾitaw(hy) (h)wā dēn ... d-qāʾem (h)wā* (Sinaiticus and Peshitta have: *qāʾem (h)wā*); John 19:19 (ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένον: *ʾitaw(hy) (h)wā dēn da-ktib* (Peshitta: *ktib (h)wā*).

From the above lexical, morphological, and morpho-syntactical explorations we may conclude that P as a translation belongs to the early period of Syriac translation literature from Greek (i.e., prior to the fifth century) and that Tr—revising P with the help of the Greek—reflects the concerns and tendencies of the sixth- and seventh-century translators. While the early translations are in idiomatic Syriac, the later translations are more 'source oriented' and aim at reflecting the Greek original as faithfully as possible, both in content and in form.[61] The parallels with the Syro-Hexapla and with the Harklean version of the Gospels suggest that we may be dealing with a sixth- or seventh-century translation. The fact that Tr in general has a less mechanical approach

[60] L. Van Rompay, 'Les versions syriaques', in F. Petit, *La chaîne sur l'Exode* 1. *Fragments de Sévère d'Antioche* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 9; Louvain, 1999), 121–125.

[61] See S.P. Brock, 'Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *III Symposium Syriacum 1980* (OCA 221; Rome, 1983), 1–14.

to the Greek text than the one found in the Syro-Hexapla and in the Harklean version may point toward a period slightly earlier than these texts (i.e., the sixth century). However, the possibility of a later date cannot be ruled out, as can be seen from the work of Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) who, particularly in his renderings of biblical texts, tried to find a compromise between the idiomatic style and language of Peshitta and the sophisticated approach of the later Hellenizers. Assuming that in Tr we are not dealing with the Syro-Hexaplaric text,[62] nor with Jacob's work,[63] we may propose the sixth, or perhaps the early seventh century as Tr's likely date of origin.

5. *Tr's Historical Relocation of Nebuchadnezzar*

We finally have to discuss an insertion in Tr which seems to reflect the translator's view on the historical setting of the book of Judith. As is well known, some of the historical and geographical data concerning Nebuchadnezzar in the book of Judith are puzzling. Right at the beginning of the book, Nebuchadnezzar is presented as ruling over the Assyrians in the city of Nineveh, whereas in fact he ruled over the Babylonians and had his capital in Babylon. Moreover, Holofernes' mission to Israel is situated after the people's return from exile (as appears from 4:3 as well as from Achior's words in Chapter 5), which would be following the edict of Cyrus, king of Persia (dated in 538). This conflicts with the real dates of Nebuchadnezzar's rule, from 605 to 562. Whether this misrepresentation of the facts is due to ignorance or negligence on the author's part or should be seen as a coded message to his audience, warning them not to focus on the historical facts but rather to interpret the narrative in the context of their own time (perhaps in the second

[62] The Syro-Hexaplaric text of Judith existed in a manuscript once owned by Andreas Masius (now lost), on which see W. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts* (Leiden, 1968), 2–4. The few quotations from this manuscript, made by Masius himself in his *Syrorum Peculium* (incorporated in the Antwerp Polyglot, 1571–1573) and included in Hanhart's critical apparatus, indicate that this Judith text was different from Tr.

[63] We do not know whether Jacob's biblical revision included Judith (it did include Susanna). From one of Jacob's letters to John the Stylite we know that he saw Judith as one of those books (along with Wisdom of Solomon, Bar Sira, Tobit, Esther, and Maccabees) that are the product not of divine inspiration, but of God-fearing men who wrote stories about righteous men and proper conduct. These books are 'outside the number of canonical books of the church', but they are available for 'private, additional reading of the industrious ones ... as admonishment and correction of the ways of behavior and practice'. See MS Brit. Libr., Add. 12,172, f. 95v. The possibility that in Tr we are dealing with Jacob's translation cannot completely be ruled out, although I think this is unlikely.

century BCE) remains unknown. What interests us here is that P adopts the historical setting of the Greek book, whereas Tr introduces some significant changes.[64]

An addition to Jdt 1:1 reads as follows (the parts corresponding to the Greek are italicized):

> (1:1) *In the twelfth year of the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians, who ruled in Niniveh, the great city, in the days of Arpakshad, who ruled over the Medes in Ekbatana, a city of Media*, there was a war between these two kings with one another. (The war originated) because Achshirash, the king of the Persians, along with the great dominance that he had over the Persians and the Chaldeans and the Assyrians, and (that extended) from India to Egypt, wanted to seize power also over the land of the Medes, which was near to him. Arpakshad the Mede, however, wanted to seize the kingdom of the Medes of his fathers, and (did) not (want) the region of the Medes to be subjected to the kings of the Persians. (2) *And he built strong towers for Ekbatana*, the city of the Medes . . .

From the list of Achshirash's subjects (Persians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians), it becomes clear that we are dealing not with a third king, but with Nebuchadnezzar himself who, therefore, receives a second name. Although this remains a bit unclear in this paragraph, it really is what the author of Tr wants his readers to understand, as appears from his rendering of Jdt 1:5:

> (1:5) *And he waged war in those days, king Nebuchadnezzar*, or (*ʾawkēt*) Achshirash, *against Arpakshad the king in the great plain* . . .

As Van der Ploeg pointed out, the name 'Achshirash' (or Achshiresh) is identical with the Syriac name for Xerxes, mentioned in Ezra 4:6 and Esther 1:1. By adopting this second name, therefore, Nebuchadnezzar straightforwardly becomes a Persian king! In the remainder of the book, only the name Nebuchadnezzar is used; the reader is supposed to remember the identification.

There are interesting parallels for Nebuchadnezzar's transformation into a Persian king (a transformation that solves some, but by no means all of the historical problems in the book of Judith). First, in the Greek manuscript 583 (one of the main witnesses of the *O* tradition), the book of Judith begins as follows (the main text of the edition is printed in slanted characters): *Ἔτους δωδεκάτου τῆς βασιλείας* Καμβύσου τοῦ καὶ *Ναβυχοδονοσόρ* . . .[65] Here we find a different

[64] For what follows, see Van der Ploeg, *The Book of Judith*, 35, and 'Some Remarks', 129.

[65] See Hanhart's apparatus. In the same MS 583, the name of Cambyses is written in the margin, next to 1:11 (which has Nebuchadnezzar's name).

identification of Nebuchadnezzar, which just like the one found in Tr transforms Nebuchadnezzar into a Persian king.

In the Greek manuscript 583 and in Tr we are dealing with two different responses to the difficulty posed by Nebuchadnezzar's presence in the book of Judith. They have in common that the king is made into a Persian king, which allows the events related in the book to be placed after the people's return from exile.

Tr and the scribe of Greek MS 583 were not the only ones to identify Nebuchadnezzar as a Persian king.[66] Several early Christian authors did the same. The earliest of these may be Sextus Julius Africanus (fl. ca. 200) to whom George Syncellus, in his *Chronography*, explicitly attributes the identification of the Nebuchadnezzar in Judith as Cambyses.[67] The same identification is also found in (the Latin translation of) Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicle*,[68] and in the sixth century *Chronicle* of John Malalas.[69] This is the tradition underlying the reading of Greek MS 583.

The Latin historian Sulpicius Severus (fl. ca. 400) knew the same tradition, but rejected it and instead identified the Nebuchadnezzar in the book of Judith as Artaxerxes (III) Ochus,[70] generally dated to the mid-fourth century BCE. George Syncellus also rejected the Cambyses identification and proposed to identify Nebuchadnezzar as Xerxes, the son of Darius, son of Hystaspes.

It remains unclear which of the different kings by the name of Xerxes the author of Tr had in mind, but it is plausible that he represents the same tradition found in Syncellus. Whatever the case may be, there can be no doubt that by proposing a Persian king, different from Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian king who destroyed the Temple and

[66] For some modern scholarly attempts to solve the historical problems of the book by reconfiguring Nebuchadnezzar's identity, see Moore, *Judith*, 123–124. For a useful survey of ancient sources, Jewish and Christian, see A.M. Dubarle, *Judith. Formes et sens des diverses traditions* 1 (AnBib 24; Rome, 1966), 105–125 and 131–132.

[67] A.A. Mosshammer, *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica* (Leipzig, 1984), 282–283; see W. Adler and P. Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos. A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation* (Oxford, 2002), 344–345 (with further references), comp. also 351, 365, and 368.

[68] R. Helm, *Eusebius Werke* 7. *Die Chronik des Hieronymus* (3rd ed.; Berlin, 1984), 104c: 'Cambysen aiunt ab Hebraeis secundum Nabuchodonosor uocari, sub quo Iudith historia conscribitur'; see also 350.

[69] See E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of John Malalas. A Translation* (Byzantina Australiensia 4; Melbourne, 1986), 84–85: Cyrus' son Darius, also known as Cambyses, is said to have reigned over the Assyrians. Holofernes' mission and Judith's exploits are situated in his reign, but the name Nebuchadnezzar is not used.

[70] *Patrologia Latina*, 20, 135–159. See Dubarle, *Judith* 1, 114.

took the people in captivity, Tr wanted to solve (some of) the historical problems of Judith.

It now remains to be seen whether this tradition, attested in the late manuscript of Tr, can be traced back to an earlier period in Syriac Christianity. Our starting point is Michael the Syrian (d. 1199). In his *Chronicle* he refers to the problems surrounding the Nebuchadnezzar of the book of Judith on two occasions. In the first passage, he places the death of the Persian king Cyrus (killed by the queen of the Massagetes) in the sixtieth year of the captivity. He then reports that Cyrus was succeeded by his son Cambyses, on whom Michael has the following to say:[71]

> The Hebrews say that he was called Nebuchadnezzar and in his time Judith was known, who killed Holofernes, who was from the people of Magog, who are the Turks. Her book consists of 1268 words.

Holofernes' Turkish connection leads to some further comments in Michael's second passage, which is part of his chapter on the Turks. Michael argues that Ezekiel's prophecy concerned them:[72]

> . . . as also Mar Jacob of Edessa confirmed and wrote (saying) that it was concerning this people of the Turks that Ezekiel spoke (Ez. 38), and (that) these are Gog and Magog, who went out in the days of Cambyses, the Persian king, whom the Hebrews call Nebuchadnezzar the Second, (he) who sent Holofernes, his army commander, as the book on Judith shows, which speaks as follows: 'And it happened that, in order to fulfill their plan, king Nebuchadnezzar called Holofernes and said: Behold, you will go out from before me and you will take with you hundred and twenty thousand (men) and a multitude of horses and twelve thousand horsemen. And go up toward the whole land of the West, (against) those who despised the word of my mouth.' (2:5–6)[73]

Since the quotation from Jacob of Edessa blends with Michael's interpretation, it is unclear what exactly belongs to Jacob. For Michael, the three elements are interconnected: Ezekiel's mention of Gog and Magog

[71] J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien. Patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)* (4 vol.; Paris, 1899–1924), vol. 4, 64 (Syriac) and vol. 1, 102–103 (French translation).

[72] Chabot, *Chronique* 1, 567b (Syriac) and vol. 3, 149 (French translation). For his interpretation of Ezekiel's prophecy, Michael seems to rely on materials incorporated in the 'Catena Severi', partly published under Ephrem's name in P. Benedictus and S.E. Assemanus, *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia* 2 (Rome, 1740), 192F–193A (ad Ezek 32:24–26) and 196C–197A (ad Ezek 38:6–8). See Dubarle, *Judith* 1, 113–114. Whether these materials can be associated with Jacob of Edessa remains to be studied.

[73] The quotation in general follows P. The subordinate clause 'in order to fulfill their plan' is not found in the biblical text and seems to have been added on the basis of Michael's (or Jacob's?) context.

refers to the Turks, Holofernes was one of them, and Holofernes' invasion must be situated under Cambyses, alias Nebuchadnezzar. That at least this latter identification circulated among the Syrians long before Michael, may be seen from two separate witnesses, one from the West- and the other from the East-Syriac tradition.

The Chronicler of Zuqnin, writing in the late eighth century, has the following passage dealing with the history following the return of the exiles from Babylon and the subsequent killing of Cyrus:[74]

> And Cambyses ruled for eight years. Concerning Cambyses it is said among the Hebrews that he is called Nebuchadnezzar the Second, in whose days the story of Judith happened, as they say.
> ... Holofernes, the army-commander of Nebuchadnezzar, went up against the whole of Syria and he took captives and he killed, and he destroyed it. And he was killed by the Hebrew woman Judith. And the one who wants to read and to learn about the horrible things she did should read in the story of Judith.

Bar Bahlul (second half of the tenth c.), in his entry on Nebuchadnezzar, has the following to report:[75]

> Nebuchadnezzar is the son of Cyrus, the first king of the Persians, whom Cyrus called by the name Nebuchadnezzar, he who is described in Judith. And the Jews called him QMSWS (to be read as: Cambyses) and the name of his father (they called) Nabupolesar.

Whereas Bar Bahlul, just as the Chronicler of Zuqnin, seems to agree with the position adopted by Michael the Syrian and possibly going back to Jacob of Edessa, a different East-Syrian voice may be heard in a brief comment by Isho^{c} bar Nun (d. 828), which is taken over in the biblical commentary of Isho^{c}dad of Merv (ca. 850). Isho^{c} bar Nun primarily deals with the story of Bel and the Dragon (Daniel 14), and more specifically with the problematic reference to the prophet Habakkuk's presence in Judah (cf. Dragon 14:33, followed by the story that the prophet from Judah miraculously brought food to Daniel, sitting in the lions' den in Babel). Here follows Isho^{c} bar Nun's response:[76]

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[74] I.-B. Chabot, *Chronicon Anonymum Pseudo-Dionsysianum vulgo dictum* 1 (CSCO 91 and 121, Syr. 43 and 53; 1927–1949), 38,24–39,3 (text) and 31,16–24 (translation). The only existing manuscript, MS Vatican, Sir. 162, may be the autograph, as argued by A. Harrak, *The Chronicle of Zuqnīn. Parts III and IV. A.D. 488–775* (Mediaeval Sources in Translation 36; Toronto, 1999), 9–17.

[75] R. Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule* 2 (Paris, 1901; reprint Amsterdam, 1970), col. 1212. Comp. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, 2269.

[76] My translation is based on the Syriac text as published in C. Molenberg, *The Interpreter Interpreted. Išo^{c} bar Nun's Selected Questions on the Old Testament* (Ph.D. dissertation, Groningen, 1990), 196–197. See also Eadem, 'Habakkuk's Dinner. An Apocryphal Story and its Aftermath in Syriac Literature', in H.L.J. Vanstiphout et al. (eds.), *Scripta Signa Vocis. Studies about Scripts, Scriptures, Scribes and Languages in the Near East Presented to J.H. Hospers* (Groningen, 1986), 155–162.

> Now, some God-clad men regarded this story as additional (*yattirtā*), for it was written by someone who did not care about accuracy, for one time only was Daniel thrown (into the lions' den) as it is in Scripture, not twice as it is in (this) story. There also is no king Astuages, they say, from whom Cyrus the Persian took over the kingdom; rather Cyrus took over the kingdom from Darius the Mede. Thus, they regarded the story of the Dragon as an addition (*tawseptā*), as well as the (story) of Judith, because there is no army commander of king Nebuchadnezzar (by the name of) Holofernes, who came to Judah and was killed.

The book of Judith is put here on a par with the story of Bel and the Dragon and, on the authority of 'God-clad men', classified as 'additional',[77] i.e., extra-canonical, lacking historical accuracy. There are no further comments on Judith in Isho^{c} bar Nun's work. Neither are there in Isho^{c}dad's commentary. As mentioned above, Isho^{c}dad incorporates Isho^{c} bar Nun's scholion into his work.[78] He offers some counterarguments, however, in defense of the historicity of the story of Bel and the Dragon, but does not do so for Judith, for which book, therefore, he seems to share Isho^{c} bar Nun's negative view.

From this brief overview we may conclude that the identification of king Nebuchadnezzar in the book of Judith as the Persian king Cambyses probably was a response to those critics who, on the basis of its historical errors, were willing to dismiss the book of Judith as irrelevant. This negative attitude is found in Isho^{c} bar Nun and in Isho^{c}dad of Merv. Jacob of Edessa's nuanced and more positive approach must have included some sort of a solution to the historical impasse.

The discussions concerning the Nebuchadnezzar in the book of Judith must have originated in Greek Christian circles, while—on the basis of Eusebius' comment (taken over in many of the later sources)—Jewish involvement cannot be ruled out. Syriac Christians picked up this discussion, possibly via the Syriac translation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*. It then becomes plausible that Jacob of Edessa, whose work on Eusebius' *Chronicle* is well-attested,[79] played a role in reshaping this discussion in Syriac and in transmitting Eusebius' identification Nebuchadnezzar/Cambyses

[77] Rather than the negative term 'superfluous' (Molenberg, *The Interpreter*, 198), I would prefer the neutral term 'additional' as a translation of *yattirā*. The same term is used by Jacob of Edessa, see L. Van Rompay, 'Past and Present Perceptions of Syriac Literary Tradition', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 3.1 (January 2000), esp. par. 21.

[78] C. Van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išo^{c}dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament* 5. *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (CSCO 328–329, Syr. 146–147; Louvain, 1972), 133, 23–134,20 (Syriac text) and 153–154. See Molenberg, *The Interpreter*, 196–197.

[79] See L. Van Rompay, 'Jacob of Edessa and the Early History of Edessa', in G.J. Reinink and A.C. Klugkist (eds.), *After Bardaisan. Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J.W. Drijvers* (OLA 89; Louvain, 1999), 269–285 (with further references).

to Michael the Syrian (whether the East Syrians' familiarity with this identification, as evidenced in Bar Bahlul, goes back to Jacob or results from their independent consultation of Eusebius remains unknown). The identification of Nebuchadnezzar as Achshirash or Xerxes, found in Tr, must have emerged in the context of the same discussions. Whether this alternative identification is of Syriac origin or whether it had Greek roots (which independently may have inspired George Syncellus) cannot be ascertained.[80]

6. *Conclusions*

The Trivandrum version of Judith in a number of ways adds to our knowledge of this biblical book in Syriac. We are dealing with a revision of the Peshitta text of Judith, carried out with the help of a Greek manuscript. Just like the Greek *Vorlage* from which P was translated, the manuscript underlying the revision belonged to the 'Hexaplaric' group of Septuagint manuscripts. While representing the same type of text, the two Greek manuscripts were not, however, identical in every respect.

Far from producing an entirely new translation, the reviser often remained faithful to the vocabulary of P and regularly incorporated P elements within his own work. The general orientation of his work, however, is radically different from P. While the character of P is determined primarily by the target language and while its text reads as idiomatic Syriac, Tr is much more oriented towards the source language and often imitates the Greek in vocabulary, morphology, and syntax. In doing so, the author of Tr shares the literary concerns of sixth- and seventh-century translators from Greek into Syriac. Several parallels with the Syro-Hexapla and with the Harklean version of the Gospels underscore Tr's affinities with the translations of this period.

While the importance of Tr for the study of the P text of Judith,[81] and for its critical edition, seems to be very limited, its significance for the study of the Septuagint text undeniably is far greater. Even if the use of Tr in the critical apparatus of the Septuagint will be complicated due to Tr's many expansive renderings and double translations, its closeness to

[80] Since Syncellus seems to be familiar with some works of Syriac provenance (see Adler, *The Chronography*, lxviii–lxix), the possibility that his identification had Syriac roots cannot be completely ruled out.

[81] Mss 6f1 and 8f1, which have never been included in text-critical studies of Judith, will need to be studied in detail (along with 8a1, which I did not consider in this paper). Compared to this earlier group of mss, Lagarde's edition of 10f1 has a number of unique readings.

the Greek very often facilitates the reconstruction of underlying Greek readings.

The existence of a revised text of Judith—distinct from the Syro-Hexapla and (in all likelihood) from Jacob of Edessa's biblical recension—may be seen as an indication of the popularity of this biblical book. In spite of its incorporation in the 'Book of Women' (first attested in the sixth century) as well as in the earliest complete Bibles, the book of Judith is very rarely quoted or commented on in Syriac literature[82] and it was most likely not used in the liturgy.[83] The revised and updated Tr version shows that the book was in demand, that an expert bilingual Syriac Christian scholar was willing to invest a considerable amount of work in it, and that he had a specific audience in mind. The discussions concerning the historicity and the chronology of king Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in Judith again indicate that there was a lively interest in the book, in spite of a certain disdain shown in the remarks made by some high church officials such as Isho^{c} bar Nun and Isho^{c}dad of Merv.[84]

[82] Jdt 16:19 is quoted in a letter of Severus of Antioch to John of Bostra, originally written in Greek, but preserved in Syriac only. We are dealing with an *ad hoc* translation from the Greek (κωνώπιον is rendered *mṣidtā*). See E.W. Brooks, *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis* 1.2 (London–Oxford, 1904), 457 (text) and 2.2 (London, 1904), 405–406 (translation).

[83] References to Judith in Syriac liturgy deserve further study. Judith takes the lead in a the list of women described as examples in a canticle for the bridesmaid, as part of the Chaldean wedding liturgy: 'the renowned Judith who saved her people from destruction' (followed by Esther, Deborah, Susanna, Anna). See, e.g., A. Raes, *Le mariage. Sa célébration et sa spiritualité dans les Églises d'Orient* (Chevetogne, 1958), 190–191. Judith, in the process of killing Holofernes, is depicted in the Syriac Buchanan Bible (MS Cambridge, University Library, Oo. 1. 1,2, f. 191r). See J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient* (Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth; Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 77; Paris, 1964), 246 (no. 27), with *Album*, 63, 1, as well as L.-A. Hunt, 'The Syriac Buchanan Bible in Cambridge: Book Illumination in Syria, Cilicia and Jerusalem of the Later Twelfth Century', *OCP* 57 (1991), 355–356, with Fig. 8.

[84] While writing this paper, I greatly benefited from the help and suggestions of Bill Adler, Catherine Burris, Melvin Peters, and Françoise Petit. I would like to express to them my sincere thanks.

MANUSCRIPT RELATIONSHIPS FOR THE PESHITTA TEXT OF JEREMIAH

Donald M. Walter

As late as 1994 at the Second Peshitta Symposium at Leiden Michael Weitzman argued that the text of 7a1 and closely related MSS (referred to in this paper as 'Ed' since it is basically the text printed as the main text in the Peshitta Institute Edition of the O.T.) constituted a 'virtual edition' rather than a deliberately prepared edition exhibiting intentional changes. He had revised his position by the time of his final work on his posthumous *Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction.*[1] He not only recognized that intentionality was often behind the changes in the Ed text, but perhaps even more importantly that he could make sense of a number of phenomena. He was able to give a possible date, place, and occasion for the revision, and an explanation why Kings and Jeremiah should have received more thorough revisions than other books. The addition of titles within the text would have occurred as part of the same process.[2]

I have already made a detailed study of the manuscript relations for the Peshitta of Kings,[3] and to do so for Jeremiah seems appropriate. Weitzman's student Gillian Greenberg prepared a careful doctoral dissertation on Jeremiah, since published as a monograph in MPIL, which contains a chapter dealing with manuscript variants.[4] An obvious difference though is that Greenberg was interested in establishing

[1] Konrad Jenner and I have read a draft of Weitzman's *Syriac Version* in which he still held to the position that Ed was a virtual edition. For a description of what is involved in a 'virtual edition' see my discussion in D.M. Walter 'The Use of Sources in the Peshitta of Kings', in P. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij (eds.), *The Peshitta as a Translation* (MPIL 8; Leiden, 1995), 203–204 as well as M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56; Cambridge, 1999), 267.

[2] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version*, 283, 300–302.

[3] Submitted to the Peshitta Institute in 1994; it will be published in the Monograph Series when the conversion process from MLS 3.26 to a modern Microsoft Word document is completed and the companion materials from my colleague Konrad Jenner are restored. The article cited in the first note contains a small, but important, part of the evidence that Ed constitutes a deliberate revision.

[4] G. Greenberg, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Jeremiah* (MPIL 13; Leiden, 2002), 126–142, used the collation of Peshitta variants which I submitted in 1986, introduction revised with a change in general editor, 1987, to the Peshitta

the original text and character of the Peshitta, whereas my interest here is in the departures from the original. This assures that there will be less overlap than might have been imagined. In passing though, I may note it has been of great value to be able to consult with Greenberg (by e-mail) on numerous points since she has not only worked with the text of Jeremiah at length, and the variants, but is also the primary translator of Jeremiah for the Institute's English translation.

The paper will consist of three unequal parts. First, I will provide conceptual maps, produced using Multi-dimensional Scaling,[5] with a brief discussion of what they show. Second, I will examine the Ed text to see if the claim that it constitutes a true edition can be sustained. The third part will be an examination of 9a1 (and 9a1*fam*) which while it so often uniquely preserves the original text of the Peshitta also differs significantly. Does the text of 9a1/9a1*fam* constitute a true edition? A virtual edition?

PART I. MULTI-DIMENSIONAL SCALING OF JEREMIAH MSS

Multi-dimensional Scaling (MDS) has been developed as a method to draw a map on the basis of distances, whether measured as physical distances or more commonly of ratios of agreements to disagreements. As applied to Peshitta studies the relationships are between the numbers of agreements and disagreements over the variant readings found in the manuscripts. Because of the complexity of the relationships among the manuscripts, however, two-dimensional maps are often insufficient and three-dimensional maps give more satisfactory results. 'Goodness-of-fit' seeks to determine whether the map succeeds in presenting the relationships among the manuscripts in an optimal manner. 'Stress' measures the degree to which distances on the map have to be changed to make the things being mapped fit in the dimensions available. A map for three manuscripts would have no *stress* when plotted in three dimensions, nor would n (where n equals any number) manuscripts plotted

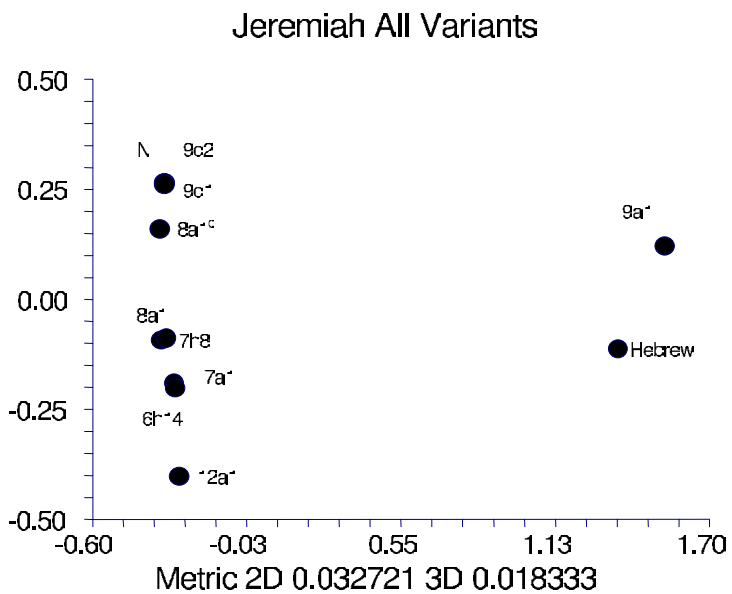
Institute and which will be published when all the O.T. books to be included in that volume are in final form.

[5] For a discussion of the assumptions and procedures see Weitzman, *The Syriac Version*, Appendix III: Modeling the Relations among the Witnesses, 313–316, and my 'Multidimensional Scaling (Mapping) of Peshitta Manuscripts of Numbers and Deuteronomy', in A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg (eds.), *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts. Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman* (JSOT.SS 333; London, 2001), 178–199. The preparation of data for analysis was done in an Alpha 4 database, processed by COBOL routines I have written and a spreadsheet (for the cross-tabs function) and then processed by NCSS (Number Cruncher Statistical System) 2000.

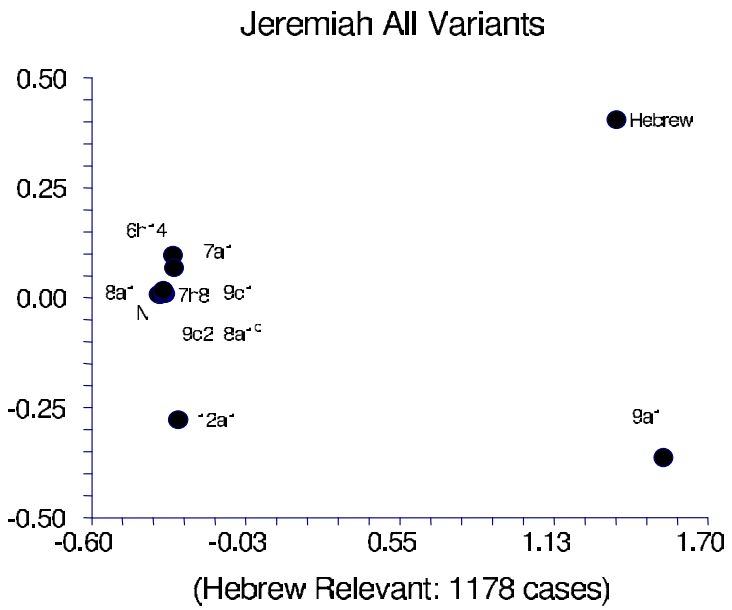
in n dimensions! Almost inevitably any large number of manuscripts plotted in only two or three dimensions will show *stress*, but the lower the *stress*, the better ('acceptable' and 'good' are labels for useable *stress* levels).

The first Plot shows the relationships of Peshitta MSS of Jeremiah through the ninth century, N (the consensus value of the 'Nestorian' MSS) and 12a1. Although there are several 'goodness-of-fit' measures, *stress* is the most valuable. A *stress* figure below 0.05 is acceptable, and below 0.01 good. On the plots some of the labels show the *stress* for 2-D and 3-D analyses following the word 'Metric'.

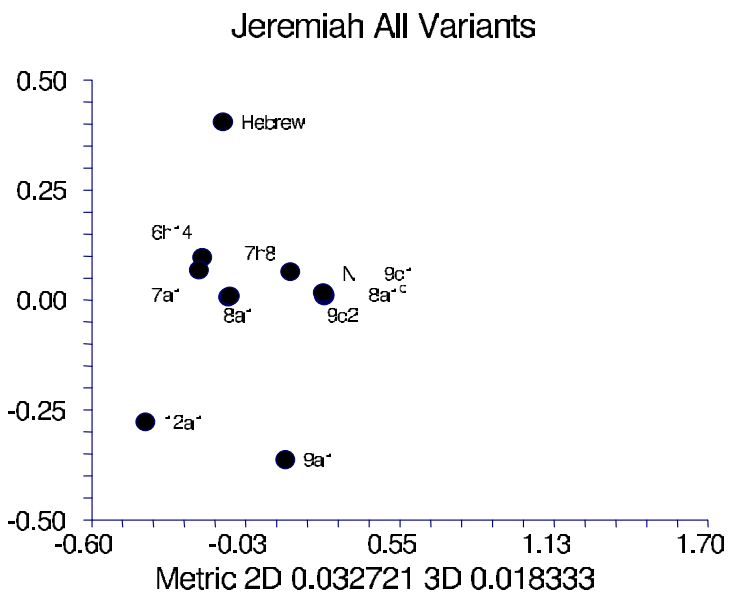
One should imagine a three-dimensional box in which the MSS names are placed, their positions determined by the ratios of agreement/disagreement among the pairs of MSS under consideration. The box is then viewed first from the top, then from the front, and then the right side. Plot 1, Top, also corresponds to the two dimensional map (with a *stress* of 0.032721) for these manuscripts, but when the front and side views are added the *stress* is significantly reduced. All variants for Jeremiah found in the first and second apparatuses of the Peshitta Institute edition of the Peshitta for which the Hebrew text is relevant



Plot 1: Top



Plot 1: Front



Plot 1: Right

are included for Plot 1.[6] If MT is not extant, or can not be used to favour one variant over another, the cases are not considered. For example, MT is irrelevant for cases involving anticipatory pronouns, and so such cases, though numerous, are ignored.[7]

The top view shows that the Hebrew and 9a1 are relatively close together; the front view shows them far apart but still closer to each other than to any other MSS, and the side view has them far apart (9a1 and Hebrew being in the foreground and the others far to the rear); only all the views together give the real picture.[8]

The top view suggests that 12a1 is close to the early Ed MSS, but the other views qualify that.

The next plot is based on the 82 cases of shared major variants[9] where the Hebrew is relevant for decision-making. 'Major' is used in the sense Koster used in his massive and monumental work on Exodus.[10] In fact there is a lot of artificiality in the distinction between 'minor' and 'major', and sometimes 'minor' variations (such as conjunctions, verb forms, suffixes, etc.) have a great deal of importance and vice versa. However, the distinction is still valuable, especially for MDS, as a kind of 'noise filter'. All considered Plot 2 is remarkable close to Plot 1 (but with considerably better *stress* figures).[11]

The most obvious difference from Plot 1 is that 9a1 and Hebrew are close to each other in all views. 12a1, which was close to the early Ed MSS in the top view, is considerably distanced from them on the other views. The 'Nestorian' MSS form a very tight cluster, and indeed their symbols are superimposed on the map.

It is of great importance that 9a1 would be the best MS for Jeremiah based in terms of closeness of readings to those of MT even if all the unique readings of 9a1 (which have strong affinities to the Hebrew

[6] The variants are infrequently tabulated differently here than in the printed edition; after all a transposition could be treated as an addition and an omission.

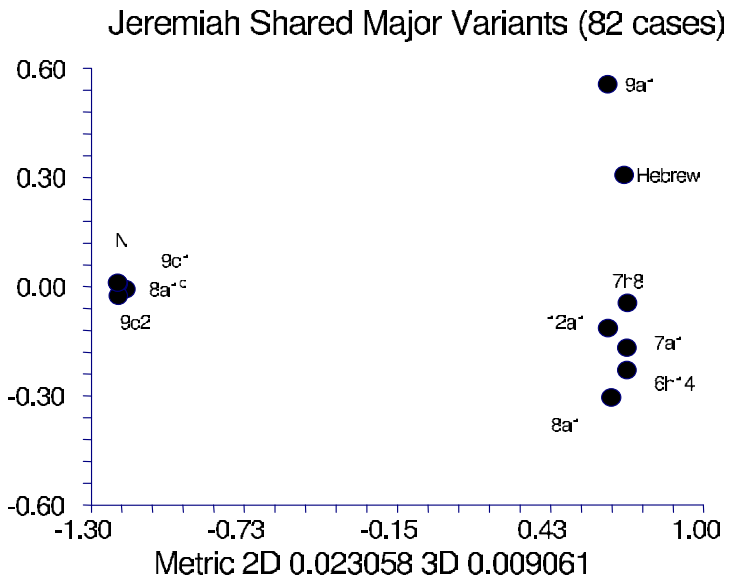
[7] Of course other maps (not printed with this article) have been generated in which cases were considered in which the Hebrew is irrelevant. Peshitta MSS are compared only with each other when the Hebrew is irrelevant, and when the Hebrew is relevant they are compared with it as well.

[8] Strictly speaking only the Top and Front views are needed, but it is much more difficult to visualize the situation if a side view is not included.

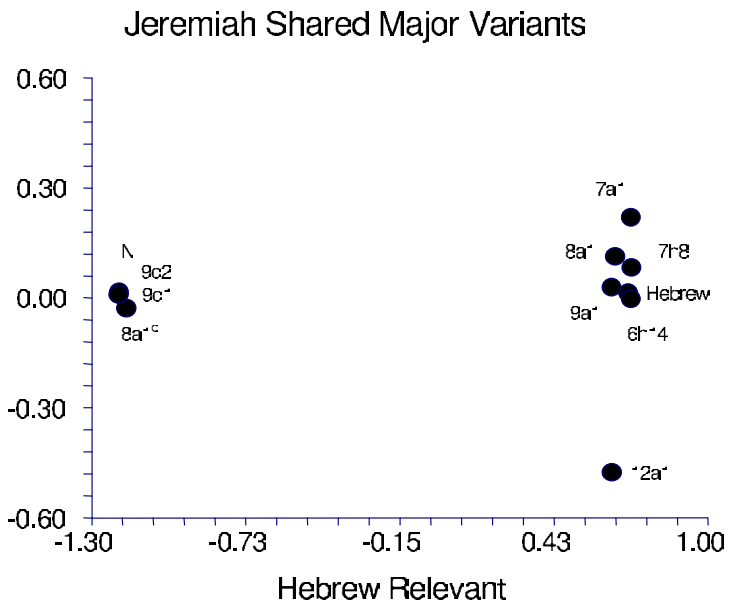
[9] Shared Variants are those supported by at least two of the MSS under consideration. See further note 12.

[10] M.D. Koster, *The Peshitta of Exodus: The Development of its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries* (SSN 19; Assen, 1977).

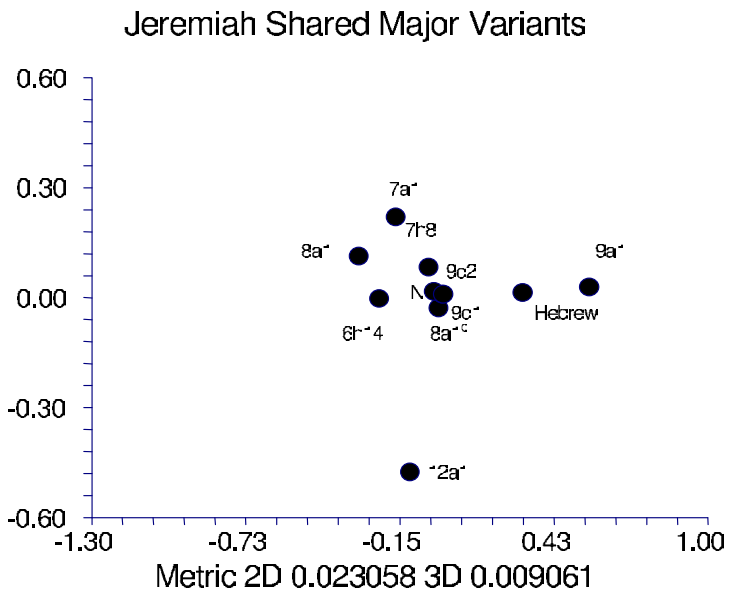
[11] Flipping a map over makes no difference; the distances are what matter, not the orientation. The map may also be rotated provided the unit distance on the x axis is the same as for the y axis. In the maps provided in this article this has not been done due to the constraint of fitting all the MSS used into each view of the Plot.



Plot 2: Top



Plot 2: Front



Plot 2: Right

text) were ignored.[12] In both plots 8a1[13] and 6h14 form a pair as do 7a1 and 7h8 suggesting that in each case the MSS have closely related texts.

Throughout the rest of the article Syriac and Hebrew will be quoted, sometimes in the form found ultimately in some MS (and printed as the lemma or variant in the printed edition), or in the dictionary or root form. The reader should be able to determine which form is intended without further assistance. Only selected cases are examined; for example. many transpositions, additions, omissions, and vocabulary items are not treated.

[12] M.P. Weitzman always claimed that if a MS, for example 9a1, agreed with the reading of the Hebrew, it was a shared variant and should be tabulated as such. While I could do that, I have chosen not to. It spoils what is a very strong argument for the superiority of 9a1: namely that when only variants that 9a1 shared with at least one other MS are considered, 9a1 still is closest of the MSS to MT.

[13] 8a1 refers to the text of 8a1 for all readings which are uncorrected and for the 8a1* variants. 8a1^{c}, used in reference to a running text, refers to the text of 8a1 for all readings which are uncorrected, and for the 8a1^{c} variants. It seems reasonable to count uncorrected readings in both connections since they were part of the original text of 8a1, and since the corrector intended them to stand.

PART II. THE ED TEXT

Of approximately 1431 classified variants for the Peshitta text of Jeremiah, about 377 can be regarded as representing an Ed text, which differs from that of MT and presumably the original Peshitta translation.

1. *Transpositions*

Transpositions in standard formulas and sequences

– The phrase דבר יהוה עלי occurs in 1:4, 11, 13; 2:1; 13:3, 8; 16:1; 18:5; 24:4; and 25:3. It is rendered as ܠܘܬ ܡܪܝ ܗܘܐ ܕܒܪ by 9a1 in all those cases except for 2:1; 18:5; 24:4 (in 1:13 it is supported by 7a1, and in 13:8 the anticipatory suffix is omitted). Ed has a transposition, ܠܘܬ ܡܪܝ ܗܘܐ ܕܒܪ in all those cases except for 13:8 (where it agrees with 9a1 except that it has an anticipatory suffix). This is the reading as well for 9a1 in 2:1; 18:5; 24:4. The latter three cases make it plausible that a transposition occasionally occurred in the original text of P (symbol: P*).

It looks as though Ed has intentionally and systematically adopted this reading (with one exception). Indeed its evidence and the mixed usage in 9a1 make it probable that that is idiomatically better Syriac.

Terms of revilement

– For Jer 29:18 MT לאלה ולשמה ולשרקה ולחרפה 'for an execration, and a horror, and a hissing, and a reproach' 9a1 (and 7h8) reads ܠܐܠܐ ܠܫܡܡܐ ܠܫܪܩܐ ܠܚܪܦܬܐ; the first two terms are reversed in Ed. In the eight other places in Jeremiah that ܠܐܠܐ appears it translates קללה; in the 17 other places ܫܡܡܐ appears it translates שמה or שממה. The easiest solution is that 9a1, with ܫܡܡܐ second, is translating שמה and therefore ܠܐܠܐ translates אלה which elsewhere in the Peshitta of Jeremiah is rendered by ܐܒܕܬܐ. MT שמה and קללה (never in the reverse order), and translated by ܫܡܡܐ and ܠܐܠܐ, occur in the same verse in 2 Kgs 22:19; Jer 29:18; 42:18; 44:12, 22; 49:13.

– For 44:22 MT לחרבה ולשמה ולקללה 9a1 retains the Hebrew order (translating חרבה with ܚܪܒܐ). Ed however places ܚܪܒܐ at the end of the series!

– For 49:13 לשמה לחרפה לחרב ולקללה 9a1 uses ܫܡܡܐ, ܚܪܦܬܐ, ܚܪܒܐ, and ܠܐܠܐ respectively; Ed reverses the middle terms.

In these three cases the sequences of 9a1 best correspond to MT; Ed made alterations in the word orders, presumably for greater consistency.

Disasters promised

– 13:14 'I will not pity (חמל) nor spare (חוס), nor have compassion (רחם)'. The sequence of verbs in 9a1 is ܚܘܣ, ܪܚܡ, and ܚܡܠ. Ed reverses the first two. Since neither 9a1 nor Ed have the exact sequence of MT (assuming that רחם is best translated by ܪܚܡ, and חוס by ܚܡܠ), priority might be given to 9a1 since its order is that of MT for two items. A reason for Ed's order is not obvious.
– 21:7 The sequence of 21:7 מן הדבר מן חחרב ומן הרעב is non-standard. The usual formula puts 'sword' first and 'plague/pestilence' last (13 times in MT Jeremiah); once the order of 'sword', 'plague', and then 'famine' occurs (34:17). In 21:7 9a1 alone retains the order of MT; Ed follows that of the standard formula. All MSS in 34:17 level to the standard formula as well. (All MSS add ܒܪܥܐ in 14:16 and Ed 9a1^{c} in 44:27 giving the usual formula; also 44:12 where technically it translates the verb ימתו.) The change in Ed in 21:7 is presumably intended; otherwise it would be necessary to ascribe a reading found in all Ed MSS to a very early copyist who unintentionally introduced the standard formula.

Other transpositions

– In 40:11 the three names Moab, Ammon, and Edom appear in MT in that order. 9a1 omits 'Edom', and Ed places it first. 9a1 may have omitted 'Edom' for reasons that are not obvious. Ed has changed the sequence to agree with that of 25:21; 27:3.
– 51:11 MT has 'arrows' and 'shields' (שלט). 9a1 has the corresponding 'arrows' and 'quivers' ܫܠܛ (same root as MT, but a somewhat different sense). The terms are reversed in Ed.

2. *Additions to Standard Formulas, Epithets, Standard Phrases*

Divine titles

– P ܡܪܝܐ is frequently added to ܐܠܗ in Ed. MT יהוה, 9a1 ܐܠܗ, in 11:11; 33:11 3^{o} is therefore rendered by Ed as ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗ, and in 51:1 by ܡܪܝܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܠܗ. MT יהוה אלהי ישראל in 11:3; 13:12; 25:15, 45:2 and יהוה in 13:9 is translated by 9a1 as ܐܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ and expanded by Ed to ܐܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ.
These additions are presumably intentional, although they are in keeping with the tendency of the original translation. After all, ܡܪܝܐ, without an equivalent in MT, is added by all MSS to divine names and titles in 13:9; 21:4; 23:24; 32:25; 50:20 or as part of a divine title to 46:2 (there 9a1 lacks ܡܪܝܐ) which only appears in

the Peshitta. Of course צבאות is often translated by ܡܪܝܐ but also 13 times by ܐܠܗܐ.

– 32:28 Ed adds ܡܪܝܐ to ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗ ܟܠ ܒܣܪ; there is no word for 'God' in MT or 9a1. A similar alteration occurs elsewhere in the MSS; 12a1 omits 'God' in 2:19 (12a1*); 5:14; 43:2. It is added by N in 43:4, and by 9a1 in 19:3, and probably has little or no signification as an indicator of intentional change.
– 42:4 MT has 'the Lord your God' and later 'Lord'. Ed harmonizes and has 'the Lord your God' twice.

Other additions

– 'Jeremiah the prophet' appears in numerous verses in Jeremiah. Ed adds 'the prophet' to 'Jeremiah' in 26:7; 33:1 (except for 6h14 8a1*); and 37:21. On the other hand 9a1 adds 'the prophet' in 29:30 (also 8a1* N); 35:12 (also N); and 37:14. It is not obvious that anything intentional is involved in these cases.
– 21:3 MT's 'Zedekiah' becomes 'Zedekiah the king' in Ed. There are other places the expansion could have been made by Ed and was not.
– 36:5 'Baruch' becomes 'Baruch the son of Neriah' in Ed.
– The Pharaoh of 44:30 חפרע and 46:2 נכו is ܦܚܢܣ (either to be transliterated or translated 'the Lame'). In 46:17 MT 9a1 the same Pharaoh is unnamed, but Ed has ܦܚܢܣ; the addition has surely been made consciously.

Standard Phrases

– MT 'to them' in 9:12 is expanded by Ed 'to them and to their fathers' harmonizing with 9:15 (and also 19:4; 24:10; 44:3 P, 10 P); also see 'we and our fathers' two times and 'you and your fathers' 6 times. Although cases of leveling normally involve at least some measure of conscious intentionality, this expansion may have been almost automatic.

3. *Additions*

Additions in Ed involving harmonization

– 3:11 Where MT and 9a1 have 'the treacherous Judah' Ed reads 'the treachery of her sister Judah'; the addition of 'sister' levels with 3:7, 8.
– 18:7 MT has לנתוש ולנתוץ ולהאביד and 9a1 the corresponding ܠܡܚܨܐ ܘܠܡܚܪܒ ܘܠܡܐܒܕ. Ed adds ܘܠܡܗܦܟ ('and to overthrow') after the first two verbs, harmonizing with 1:10; 31:28; in both those places the same four verbs appear in the same order. This is a clear intentional expansion.

– 25:9 'all the families of the north' of MT 9a1 has become 'all the families of the kingdoms of the north', leveling with 1:15.
– 26:1 MT 9a1* 'this word'; Ed 9a1^{c} with 'this word unto Jeremiah' level with 27:1; 36:1. That the Ed reading has support from 9a1^{c} is not uncommon in Jeremiah; several more instances will be cited. At some time 9a1 was altered on the basis of an Ed MS at several places.
– 26:11 MT 9a1 'this city'. Ed with 'this city and upon its inhabitants' conforms to 26:15; also see 46:8 and 47:2.
– 27:6 Ed adds 'and they shall serve him' leveling with 28:14.
– 28:14 MT 'and also the beasts of the field I have given to him [Nebuchadnezzar]'. So too 9a1. Ed adds ܠܡܦܠܚ 'to serve him', leveling with 27:6 (MT 9a1 Ed).
– 29:21 Ed 'and he will kill them with a sword before your eyes' has added 'with a sword' (missing in MT 9a1) leveling with 20:4; 26:23 where ܒܐܣ is also used.
– 32:7 Ed 9a1^{c} add 'which was in the land of Benjamin' leveling with v. 8.
– 32:35 'In the Topheth' is added by Ed 9a1^{c}; see 7:31, 32; 19:6 for other cases where 'Topheth' appears with the 'valley of the son of Hinnom'.
– 33:15 The addition by Ed of 'and he will rule with majesty and have perception' conforms to 23:5.
– 44:27 Ed 9a1^{c} expand 'sword and famine' with 'and pestilence'. See above, *Disasters promised* (page 239), for examples. This is a clear case of leveling.
– 48:41 Ed 9a1^{c} add 'to give birth', leveling with 13:21 and 49:22 (where all the MSS add the verb although there is no basis for it in the Hebrew).

Nearly all these additions in this section are intentional, and some require considerable knowledge of passages elsewhere in Jeremiah.

Other Expansions in Ed

– 1:15 9a1 'behold I am calling' (following MT). Ed 'behold I am sending and calling'.
– 25:33 MT 'they will not be bewailed, nor gathered, nor buried'. The three verbs of MT (סָפַד, אָסַף, קָבַר) are expanded to four in 9a1 with 'howled at', 'mourn', 'gathered together' and 'buried' (ܠܠ, ܘܣܦ, ܚܢܥ, ܡܚܐ), and to five in Ed (which introduces ܚܟܟ as the middle term). 9a1 added ܠܠ, perhaps on the basis of 4:8; 16:6, and Ed expanded the 9a1 text further.
– 30:10 Ed repeats 'do not fear, my servant Jacob, says the Lord' from

earlier in the verse. Presumably this is a mistake, which, once made, was retained by all the Ed MSS.

– 30:10; 46:27 MT has the verbs שקט and שאן in that order. 9a1 uses ܫܠ and ܫܚܛ (reversed in order in 46:27) and adds ܫܢܐ to the series in 46:27. Ed keeps the order ܫܠ and ܫܚܛ in each place adding ܫܢܐ in 30:10 and with 9a1 in 46:27. Ed's treatment is consistent and intentional. 9a1 is partially inconsistent in order, but since all three verbs have pretty much overlapping meanings it is hard to be sure which are the correct equivalents.
– 30:14 Ed adds 'and you did not return'. Perhaps this addition was inspired by Amos 4:6, 8, 9, 10, 11. It is appropriate in context, and leads one to wonder why more similar additions were not made. It is almost surely an intentional addition.
– 31:18 MT 9a1*![14] 'you have disciplined me'. Ed 9a1^{c} adds the vocative 'Lord'.
– 36:7 Ed adds ܘܢܫܒܘܩ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܕܡܠܠ ܥܠ̈ܝܗܘܢ 'and the Lord may cease from the evil which he spoke against them'. The addition is surely intentional, but no specific source is obvious, though 42:10 'I will cease from the evil which I have done to you' is close.
– 51:51 Ed 9a1^{c} adds ܫܓܝ 'greatly'; its use with ܫܚܬ may have been suggested by 20:11.

4. *Omissions*

– 10:23 MT 'I know, YHWH, that not to man is his way'. 9a1 'I know that the ways of the Lord are not like the ways of man' gives a clear interpretation, probably interpreting 'his way' as 'the ways of man'. Ed 'I know that the ways of the Lord are not like [that] of man' may have simplified the text of 9a1 by omitting the second 'the ways of', or less likely (if it preserves the original P* text) understood 'his way' (of MT) as 'the ways of the Lord' (in which case 9a1 further clarified the passage with an addition).
– 18:7, 9 MT and 9a1 have a temporal notice 'suddenly' in these closely parallel verses. Ed omits it from v. 9. This may indicate a conscious decision to simplify.
– 25:26 The phrase 'all the kingdoms of the earth' appears elsewhere in 15:4; 24:9; 29:18; 34:1, 17 and is translated as such by P, except that in 25:26 'of the earth' is omitted by Ed, surely to avoid the

[14] The use of '!' with 9a1 or 9a1* indicates that the MS or its original text has no support from a family. When only 9a1 is cited it may be assumed that the MS has the support of its family.

overloaded construction involved with the following 'which are upon the face of the earth'. The simplification therefore is deliberate and improves the reading.

– 29:13–14 MT 'and you will seek me and you will find [me] when you pursue me with all your heart and I will be found by you, says the Lord'. 9a1 has an awkward 'and I will hear you when you seek me with all your heart and you will seek me and you will find me, says the Lord'. Ed 'and when you seek me with all your heart you will find me, says the Lord'. The text of 9a1 can hardly be that of P*, but it is likely to have developed from it. It is easy to imagine that the text of Ed is a deliberate simplification of a text like that of 9a1, though.
– 34:19 MT 9a1 'the commanders of Judah and the commanders of Jerusalem' is simplified by Ed with the omission of the second 'the commanders'.
– 44:12 MT 9a1 'to the land of Egypt'; Ed 'to Egypt'. The phrase 'land of Egypt' appears twice in this verse, so it is not surprising that Ed should dissimilate its rendering of them in this way.
– 50:39 MT 9a1 'and she will not dwell again'; Ed omits 'again'.
– 52:4 MT 'in the tenth month in the tenth to the month'; 9a1 N 'in the month of ten in the tenth in it in this month'. Ed –N 'in the month of ten in it in this month' omits the reference to the day. This is more likely due to haste or carelessness than to intentional simplification.
– 52:17 MT 'which is to/in the house of the Lord' occurs twice, once with ל and once with ב, in this verse. 9a1 renders both as 'which is in the house of the Lord'. Ed simplifies, omitting the first occurrence.

These simplifications, especially when so numerous, are surely consciously made, although hardly in a rigorous systematical way.

5. *Vocabulary*

– 7:14 MT 9a1 'place'; Ed 'city'. However in v. 12, also with reference to the place at Shiloh, Ed, like 9a1, reads ܐܬܪܐ for מקום: Therefore Ed in v. 14 is dissimilating. This phenomenon is especially common in Ed when a term appears more than once in a specific verse, but the phenomenon is also found when the verses are near by as here.
– 8:20 MT קיץ, 9a1 ܩܝܛܐ 'summer'; Ed ܟܢܫܐ 'ingathering'. Perhaps Ed thought of 'ingathering' as being the end of the harvesting, which 'summer' would not necessarily be.
– 10:7 MT גוי, 9a1 8a1* ܥܡܡܐ 'nations'; Ed –8a1* ܥܠܡܐ 'worlds, ages'. The title 'king of the ages' is found in Tobit (twice) and Revelation

and in the Ed text here ('king of all the ages'). The title 'king of the nations' is only found here, in MT and 9a1 8a1* .

– 10:8 MT בער I 'burn, consume' II 'be brutish'. Throughout Jeremiah P consistently chooses the 'wrong' (that is, first) definition for the Hebrew. 9a1 translates with ܐܩܕ 'burn'; Ed translates with ܒܥܪ. MT בער is translated elsewhere in Jeremiah five times by ܐܩܕ, three times as ܫܠܚ, by ܐܬܐ once. It is never rendered by ܒܥܪ except by Ed here. The best explanation is that Ed has intentionally improved the awkward translation of 9a1 with its substitution according to sense.
– 11:7 MT עוד appears (in the Hiphil) three times in this verse (infinite absolute and finite verb, and later following the verb קדם). 9a1 renders it with ܐܬܫ in all cases, as does Ed in the first two. At the third occurrence Ed instead of ܐܬܫ reads ܫܕܪ, dissimilating with its equivalent earlier, but harmonizing with the idiom 'of rising early and sending' found for example in 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4 (as well as here in Ed).
– 11:8 MT 'I commanded to do, and they did not'; so too 9a1. Ed twice however replaces 'do' with 'hear' conforming to the first verb in the verse.
– 13:22 MT עון 'iniquity'; so too 9a1 ܫܠܚ 'iniquity'. Ed ܚܛܝ 'debts' probably represents a deliberate change in vocabulary. Of course the Hebrew is often translated by 'debts' (8 other places in Jeremiah), by 'sins' (8 times with 2 slightly different dictionary forms), and by 'iniquity' (6 other places). ܚܛܝ usually translates עון (but also פשע). ܫܠܚ usually translates עון (but also עול, סרה, נבלה, and תפלצת). It is possible then that Ed is original here, and 9a1 represents the change.
– 16:14 MT 9a1; 16:15 MT 6h14 9a1 'sons of Israel'; Ed 'house of Israel' in both places. In 3:21 all MSS have 'house of Israel' for MT 'sons of Israel'; so too 23:7 except for 8a1.
– 20:11 MT כשל, 9a1 ܐܡܛ 'stumble, weigh', but Ed has ܐܡܟ, leveling with ܐܡܟ later in the verse.
– 21:4 MT 9a1 'wall'; Ed ܩܪܝܬܐ 'city', leveling with ܩܪܝܬܐ later in the verse. The result is that 'outside' and 'within' are both associated with ܩܪܝܬܐ (unlike MT 9a1).
– 23:21 MT 9a1 'run'; Ed ܐܙܠ 'go'. There is no obvious reason for the change.
– 23:26 MT 9a1 'heart'; Ed ܦܘܡܐ 'mouth'. Ed dissimilates from ܠܒ later in the verse.
– 24:6 MT 9a1 'land'; Ed 'place'. The phrase 'bring back to this place' is frequent in Jeremiah; Ed harmonizes, for example with 27:22; 28:4; 29:10, 14; 32:37.

– 24:8 MT 9a1 'remnant of Jerusalem'. Ed 'remnant of the people' may be harmonizing with 39:9, 9; 41:10, 16; 52:15.
– 24:8 MT 9a1 'land'. Ed with 'city' dissimilates from 'land of Egypt' later in the verse.
– 25:9, 18; 46:19 MT חרבה in both cases in Chapter 25, שממה in Chapter 46; 9a1 ܚܪܒܐ in all cases; Ed ܫܡܡܐ in all cases. The Peshitta alternatives are consistent. That ܫܡܡܐ is the usual translation possibly favors the originality of 9a1, since Ed would then be adopting the more common rendering.
– 27:1 MT 9a1 'Jehoiakim'. Ed's 'Zedekiah' is an intentional correction of the text to agree with 27:3, 12; 28:1.
– 27:10 MT has two different verbs רחק and נדח. 9a1 uses ܐܫܕ for both, leveling usage to the first, but Ed has ܐܫܕ (often used for נדח) which levels usage to the second. Perhaps we should postulate a P* original in which there were two distinct Syriac roots translating the appropriate MT verbs. 9a1 and Ed then separately and in opposite directions introduced uniformity. In 27:15 נדח is translated by Ed with ܐܫܕ and 9a1! with ܐܫܕ, preserving the vocabulary choices made in v. 10.
– 30:6 MT 9a1 'pallor'. Ed has 'burning': ܚܡܪܐ for ܚܘܪܐ. This change may be a inner-Syriac corruption, or it may have been deliberately introduced to improve the sense, or it may be a correction deliberately introduced to correct what Ed regarded as a mistake.
– 33:9 MT 9a1 'glory'. It is not obvious why Ed changed the vocabulary to 'pride' (ܪܝܡܬܐ for ܫܘܒܚܐ).
– 33:10 MT מאין אדם, 9a1 11d1 12d1 ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ; but Ed ܕܠܐ ܬܪ ܐܝܬ. Hebrew מאין occurs five times in the verse, twice with אדם; in the second of those cases 7a1 8a1* have ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ (presumably leveling with the first occurrence in Ed). In v. 12 all the Peshitta MSS have ܕܠܐ ܬܪ ܐܝܬ for the same MT text as in v. 10 מאין אדם.
– 33:17 MT איש, 9a1 ܓܒܪ; Ed ܓܒ. A 'man' or 'son' who will sit on the throne of David. Certainly either idea has support elsewhere, although there are no direct parallels.
– 33:18 MT ומקטיר מנחה, 9a1 ܘܡܩܛܪ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ; Ed ܘܡܩܛܪ ܩܛܘܪܬܐ. Perhaps Ed was trying to avoid having ܩܘܪܒܢܐ twice in the same verse and simply replaced the second occurrence, though this would not explain why 9a1 used ܩܘܪܒܢܐ for ומקטיר.
– 38:11 MT 'the king's house under the treasury'. So too 9a1. Ed 'the treasury which was beneath the house of the king', by reversing the references to the treasury and to the king, avoids the idea that the king's house was lower than the treasury. The change is probably intentional and logical.

– 39:2; 52:6 MT 9a1 specify that the date of the breach of the city wall of Jerusalem was in the fourth month. In both cases Ed gives the month as the fifth (except 7a1 in 52:6, which specifies the seventh month!). Ed in both Chapters 39 and 52 harmonizes with the Peshitta of 2 Kings 25:3 (all MSS). This is strong evidence of an intentional revision.
– 41:2 MT 9a1 'were'; Ed 'came', possibly influenced by ܐܬܐ of v. 1 (MT בא).
– 43:5 MT 'all the remnant of Judah who had returned from all the nations to which they had been driven to sojourn in the land of Judah'. 9a1 'all who remained from the remnant of Judah'. Ed 'all the remnant which remained from the house of Judah'. P* probably recast the text of MT extensively, although without any loss of sense. The 'remnant of Judah' in 9a1 counts in favour of 9a1's originality, and the 'house of Judah' counts against the originality of Ed. Johanan's work is also mentioned in 41:16, and the term 'remnant of Judah' appears as a technical term in 42:15, 19 (and of those who would go to Egypt, 44:12, 14, 28).
– 50:2. MT 9a1 'be ashamed'; Ed 'fallen'. 'Bel has been put to shame' or 'Bel has fallen'. The themes of 'being put to shame' and 'of having fallen' may appear in the same verses, as in 6:15; 8:12.
– 50:16 MT חרב היונה 'the sword which oppressed'. 9a1 ܣܦܣܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ 'the sword of the Greeks' reading the verb of MT as a name. Ed ܣܦܣܐ ܕܡܟܐܒ 'the sword which grieves'. 9a1 must directly reflect a (mis-)reading of MT, and Ed obviously corresponds to the Hebrew. G. Greenberg has made an elegant suggestion (by e-mail) that since the MT phrase also occurs in 46:16 (and all Peshitta MSS translate as Ed does in 50:16), when the editor of Ed reached 50:16 and found the awkward reference to the Greeks, the editor looked further. Realizing that 9a1 ܝܘܢܝܐ must be translated from a Hebrew root יגה and knowing enough Hebrew (alternatively Aramaic) to know that meant 'oppress' he remembered a passage not much earlier of an oppressing sword, and took over the translation already used by all MSS there.

All this presupposes the editor of Ed knew the text being revised well, and had some skills at recognizing problems and considering possible solutions, all of which seem very reasonable assumptions. Greenberg points out that the editor would have worked on 46:16 much closer in time than the original translator would have before reaching 50:16, editorial work taking generally much less time than original translating. P* (preserved by 9a1) at 50:16 would have forgotten his translation of

46:16 done a significant length of time before; the editor of Ed might have worked on 46:16 only days earlier.

– 50:30 MT 9a1 'in her streets'; Ed 'in her midst'. The meaning is, of course, the same.
– 50:42 MT כאיש למלחמה; 9a1 'like a fire for battle'; Ed 'like a man for battle'. The MT text of 6:23 is the same as 50:42 except for reading 'daughter of Zion' instead of 'daughter of Babylon'. Both the translations of 9a1 and Ed look as though they were translated directly from MT, with 9a1 (mis)reading לאיש as לאש. G. Greenberg suggests that either 9a1 misread the MT text and the editor of Ed remembered the nearly identical verse of 6:23 and repeated its translation or alternatively the original translator, when he came to 50:42, consulted the LXX on 6:23 'they will array themselves like fire for war against you' (which itself looks like a double reading), and 9a1 simplified it one way and Ed the other.
– 51:29 MT חול 'whirl, dance, writhe'. 9a1 translated with the verb נוע 'wave to and fro', and Ed with יגעש 'be shocked, dazed, amazed'. Although נוע presumably is closer in meaning, neither it nor יגעש is used elsewhere in Jeremiah for חול.

In many or even most of these instances of vocabulary alteration, the reading of Ed seems to have been intentionally produced. They do not give the impression of being randomly occurring, copyist mistakes that have accumulated.

6. *Conclusions*

The sheer number, variety, and wide distribution of changes in Ed illustrated previously make it clear that Ed provides a consciously edited text, with certain tendencies: leveling, dissimilation especially when a term appears again within a verse, expansion or rearrangement of series of terms, improvement of sense, and even correction of misinformation (date of the breach of the wall of Jerusalem, the name of the king involved).

PART III. 9A1 AND 9A1*FAM*

Konrad Jenner in a recent contribution to the Sebastian Brock Festschrift notes that 9a1 was given a ninth century dating on the basis of its orthography, but that in fact its script was already documented as

early as the sixth century.[15] What has not been documented is other cases of *biblical* MSS being written with that script at such an early date as the sixth century. There are some good reasons for arguing for an early text for 9a1 (and the sixth century might be about right), and if Michael Weitzman is right[16] 9a1 and other MSS preserving a pre-Ed text may have survived in relatively obscure places. In those places the scribes may have had different ideas as to which scripts were appropriate for *biblical* MSS, and some of them may have been familiar with and used the script found in 9a1. Eventually some affordable technical non-destructive means of dating to within a few decades the material on which a MS is written may be available, and might solve the problem; after all no one imagines many decades or centuries would have passed between the preparation of a parchment and its subsequent use.

In the following discussion, however, no appeal to a possible early date will be made, although if 9a1 did date from the sixth century it would be the oldest surviving MS for Jeremiah. It is probable that 9a1, and for that matter 7a1 and 8a1, were made, not from copying whole Bibles, but from copying MSS of individual books or MSS of groups of books (such as the Torah, or the Twelve). That means that certain features found in 9a1 of Kings need not be those of 9a1 Jeremiah or 9a1 Isaiah, because while they probably represent the same basic original translation, each MS represents a somewhat different transmission and development history.

Since the significance of 9a1 as a preserver of the original text of the Peshitta no longer needs demonstration,[17] the interest here is on the deviations from MT[18] which may give evidence as to whether the copyist of 9a1 (or a predecessor) should be thought of as an editor carrying out extensive conscious editorial work or not.

1. *Selected Additions*

There are several places where divine titles have been expanded in 9a1 (19:3; 26:18 + N; 28:11; 29:20; 30:2). The following will illustrate:

[15] K.D. Jenner, 'A Review of the Methods by which Syriac Biblical and Related Manuscripts have been Described and Analyzed: Some Preliminary Remarks', *ARAM* 5 (1993), 262–266.

[16] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version*, 300–302.

[17] See especially the works of M.P. Weitzman, G. Greenberg, and D.M. Walter previously cited, as well as the studies they cite.

[18] 9a1 has about 632 unique readings of which 279 agree with MT and 239 do not (in the other cases the Hebrew is not relevant).

– 28:11 MT Ed 'the Lord'. 9a1 has 'the Lord of hosts, God of Israel'. Remarkably enough it is the false prophet Hananiah who is speaking. It looks as though 9a1 has simply adopted a standard formula; there is no need to assume this was done consciously.

Standard epithets are added to personal names at several places, probably without any editorial intentionality. The most likely exception is:

– 28:5 MT Ed 'Jeremiah the prophet'; 9a1 adds 'of the Lord'. The addition of 9a1 is probably intentional, since Jeremiah is in conflict with Hananiah, a false prophet.
– For 5:9, 29 where MT has אשר כזה and Ed ܕܗܟܢ 9a1's reading ܕܗܟܢ ܚܕܐ looks like an improvement; it is done consistently here, and may well be intentional, though it was not done in 9:8.

2. *Selected Omissions*

– 29:19 MT Ed 'and I sent ... I rose early and I sent'. 9a1 'and I rose early and sent' has recast and simplified the passage, replacing one finite verb and two infinitive absolutes with two finite verbs. This may have been done consciously, especially since in 44:4 9a1 (against MT and Ed) replaces 'and I sent' with 'and I rose early and sent'.
– 44:14 MT Ed 'the remnant of Judah which were going to sojourn there in the land of Egypt'; 9a1 'the remnant of Judah which were going to Egypt to sojourn there'. This reworking looks like an intentional simplification.
– 52:15 MT 'the rest of the artisans'; Ed 'the rest of the people'; 9a1 'the rest'. 9a1 may well be original, since it is hard to see why it would have omitted 'of the people'. The 'artisans' of MT is אמון. The other three places in Jeremiah where אמון appears it is an Egyptian god-name. Probably the original translator of the Peshitta of Jeremiah had no idea as to how to translate the term in 52:15 and therefore ignored it, assuming 9a1 preserves the original Peshitta text. That the 'people' have already been cited twice in the verse may have been significant for Ed's using 'the rest of the people' here.
– 52:20 MT Ed 'twelve bulls of bronze'; 9a1 'twelve bulls'. All the Peshitta MSS replace 'the two pillars' with 'the two pillars of bronze; 9a1 simplifies by cutting out the second occurrence of 'bronze' (which has an MT equivalent), leaving the first occurrence (which does not have an MT equivalent).

3. *Vocabulary*

In my study of Kings, I found many places where 9a1, in disagreement with MT, substituted a verb, often similar in its radicals to that found in

Ed, which typically made very good sense, but scarcely represented the original text of the Peshitta. Following a suggestion others have made while dealing with other Peshitta texts, I suggested that 9a1 might be working from a badly worn MS, and sometimes made very elegant guesses on the basis of a text that was difficult to read.[19]

Even if that explanation is sometimes correct, it does not follow that when the copyist of 9a1 copied P Jeremiah, that his text of P Jeremiah was badly worn. Of course many MSS provide isolated cases where a variant could be the result of copying a worn MS. It is desirable to see if there seems to be any number and pattern for such cases in 9a1.

Cases where the hypothesis that 9a1 worked from a badly worn MS seems credible I have marked with **, and if at least plausible, with *.

– 2:5 MT Ed 'what iniquity did your fathers find in me'; 9a1! 'what iniquity did the sons of your fathers find' reading ܒܢܝ for ܒ. This does not make good sense! Nowhere else is such a cumbersome circumlocution found. **
– 3:2 MT Ed 'upon the bare heights'; 9a1 (no Syame!) 'to what surrounds you' ܠܡܚܘܝܟ. Why the change is made is not obvious.
– 3:13 MT Ed 'scatter'; 9a1 'drive away, break up' using the verb ܦܪܪ rather than ܕܪܐ. **
– 4:7, 44:29 MT Ed 'place'; 9a1 'land'. Although the Syriac words look much alike, the variation is not uncommon, and other explanations are adequate.
– 6:3 MT Ed 'they will feed'; 9a1 'they will meet' reading ܢܚܐ for ܪܥܝ, a reading which makes very good sense. **
– 8:3 MT נדה; Ed ܕܪܐ; 9a1 ܫܪܐ. MT נדה in ten other places in Jeremiah is rendered by ܕܪܐ, four times by ܫܕܚ and twice by ܪܓܠ. 9a1 ܫܪܐ is nowhere else used in Jeremiah for נדה. **
– 8:13 MT עבר; Ed ܥܒܪ; 9a1 ܥܒܐ. The ܪ/ܐ substitutions also occur in 49:32 and 24:9.
– 10:22 MT Ed 'land of the north'; 9a1 'land of the wilderness' reading ܡܕܒܪܐ rather than ܨܦܘܢ. *
– 13:19 MT נגב; Ed ܪܟܣܐ; 9a1! ܪܝܡܐ. Of course the Negeb was part of Judah, but the fact that ܪܝܡܐ appears later in the verse probably explains 9a1's reading (although it would be a case of harmonizing within a verse).
– 13:22 MT גלו; Ed 9a1^{mg} ܐܬܓܠܘ (from ܓܠ); 9a1^{txt} 12a1 ܐܬܓܠܘ (from ܓܠ); 7a1 ܐܬܓܠܘ (from ܓܠ). Strictly speaking none of the

[19] See for example section 267 of D.M. Walter's yet unpublished monograph on Kings referred to in footnote 3 and which may be consulted at the Peshitta Institute in Leiden.

renderings is 'correct' and possibly none of them is identical with P*. The original translation ought to have used ܚܠܡ to correspond to גלה. Later in the verse ܚܠܡ does in fact appear, translating חמס, and in v. 26 ܚܠܡ translates חשף; that might be the source of ܚܠܡ in 13:22 Ed 9a1^{mg}.

– 14:14 MT חזון; Ed ܚܙܘܬܐ; 9a1! ܚܙܘܢ 'appearances'. Payne Smith specifies that 'a lying appearance' (as in 9a1!) is 'a phantom'. Either translation could be original, but it is surprising that 9a1's family supports the Ed when the 9a1! (unsupported) text has a perfectly good idiom and makes excellent sense.

– 15:4 MT זועה Kethib, זעוה Qere, Ed ܪܥܝܕܐ 'quaking'; 9a1 ܪܥܝܪܐ 'sweat/ing'. The Ed reading is correct and in a somewhat similar passage 24:9 occurs in all MSS. The notion of 'sweat' in a fearful situation is at least plausible. If 9a1 were an active conscious editor, he failed to remember this passage when he reached 24:9; at 24:9 he could have been consistent in his reading or have gone back to correct the earlier passage of 15:4, being able to read the text that he was now copying! **

– 18:11 MT Ed 'to the men of Judah' (MT 7a1 literally 'a man of Judah'); 9a1 'to the house of Judah'. 9a1, perhaps intentionally, recast the translation.

– 18:23 MT מחה 'wipe, wipe off'; Ed –7a1 ܚܒܠ 'conceal, efface'; 9a1 7a1 ܬܥܠ 'wander, err'. This is a copy error easily made, and probably made independently by 9a1 and 7a1. *

– 24:9 Ed ܙܥܙܘܥ 'shaking'; 9a1 ܙܥܘܥ 'yoke'; there is no corresponding MT. Ed's reading makes good sense in context, and that of 9a1 does not. The substitution of ܝ for ܪ is an inner-Syriac corruption.

– 27:13 MT Ed 'plague, pestilence'; 9a1! 'death' reading ܡܘܬܐ, omitting a ܪ, from ܕܒܪܐ. The text of 9a1! spoils a standard list of three disasters, and is probably simply a copy error.

– 30:4 MT Ed 'the Lord'; 9a1 'Jeremiah'; the reference is to the words 'which the Lord/Jeremiah spoke'. *

– 34:7, 22 MT לחם; Ed ܠܚܡ; 9a1 (in 34:7 9a1!) ܚܛܐ. 9a1 is consistent in its equivalents. But for the reverse, see 51:2 P Ed ܚܛܐ; 9a1! ܠܚܡ.

– 38:25 MT כחד; Ed ܟܚܕ; 9a1 ܟܠܒ. The Hebrew root is translated by ܟܚܕ the two other places it appears in Jeremiah. 9a1 is likely dissimilating from 38:14.

– 40:5 MT Ed 'cities of Judah'; 9a1 'land of Judah'. In 41:2, 18 Gedaliah had been made governor over the land, so perhaps 9a1 is harmonizing.

– 41:3; 52:25 MT מצא; Ed (52:25 – 8a1 12a1) ܐܫܟܚ; 9a1 (52:25 + 8a1 12a1) ܐܫܟ. In 52:25 MT מצא appears twice. In Ed there is dissimilation; all MSS have ܐܫܟ once, but Ed – 8a1 12a1 reads ܐܫܟܚ for the second.

– 48:2 MT כרת ; Ed ܐܫܬ; 9a1! ܫܒ 'set free, be able'; 9a1!'s root is questionable, and the sense in context is poor. *
– 48:11 MT 'his scent does not change'; Ed 'their scent does not abate'; 9a1 'he does not find their scent'. The ܦܠܚ of 9a1 might easily be a copy error of Ed's ܦܚ (ܦܠܚ); it does make as good a sense though as the alternative. **
– 49:32 MT 'from all their sides (from עבר)'; Ed 'from all their further sides (from ܐܚܪ)'; 9a1 'from all their works (from ܐܚܪ)'. This is probably just a simple copy error.
– 50:3 MT 'north', Ed –9d1 ܠܒܨ 'north'; 9a1 9d1 ܐܚܪ 'Arabian'. 'For there came up against her [Babylon] a nation from the north/Arabia'. *
– 52:29 MT Ed 9a1^{c} give the numbers for the people as 800 and 30 and 2; in 9a1* they are 18 and 30 and 2. 9a1*! is an obvious copy error, due to an '18' earlier in the verse. It suggests that in various other places where 9a1*! does not equal MT its reading was an error corrected right away.

4. *Conclusions*

The case for 9a1 (or some earlier MS in its transmission history) being a true edition is not nearly as strong as for Ed, and indeed the number of errors found in 9a1 (and probably due to the copyist) does not inspire confidence that the scribe of 9a1 was an editor. Still several cases have been presented where the changes may well be intentional. The concept of a 'virtual edition' may be adequate to cover this situation where such a modest number of conscious deliberate changes has been found, and so many variants and inner-Syriac corruptions have been accumulated in transmission. If clear tendencies in the changes had been identified it would have supported the notion of an actual edition.

It is plausible that 9a1 did work from a worn MS; some vocabulary changes could be explained that way, as well as the introduction of various errors, but other explanations such as haste, carelessness, difficulty of the script in the MS being copied, might work as well.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The position that I have argued for Kings, and Michael Weitzman has argued more generally, that Ed represents a deliberate revision is sustained by this study for Jeremiah. 9a1 certainly contains some new readings that required conscious intentional work, either on the part of

some predecessor or the actual copyist of 9a1. At the same time no clear tendencies can be seen in the changes discussed above, or at least to a degree comparable to Ed.

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